MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME;

INCLUDING

THE REVOLUTION, THE EMPIRE,

AND

THE RESTORATION.

BY

LIEUT.-GEN. COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF

LIEUT.-GEN. COUNT MATHIEU DUMAS.

TO MY SON.

My Dear Son:

The inaccuracy and want of truth in the multitude of private Memoirs, with which we have been inundated, and with which cotemporary history was in a manner overwhelmed, had inspired me with insurmountable disgust. It seemed to me that my testimony would be a useless and slender tribute, and would be lost in that chaos into which so many rash opinions, so many false statements, so many calumnies, dictated by the spirit of revenge, will perhaps never suffer the light of truth to penetrate. In fact the number of those Memoirs is but very inconsiderable of which my honorable friend, the count de Ségur, has given us so perfect a model. In venturing to imitate him, I yield to his counsels as well as to his warm solicitations.

The following pages, my dear Son, contain the faithful narrative of the events in which I had some share, according to the various situations in

which I was placed. The testimony of an eye-witness is not useless and uninteresting, who, relating the story of his life, is obliged to speak of himself, saying, like the Pigeon in Lafontaine,

"J'étais là: telle chose m'advint."

CHAPTER I.

Entrance into the service in 1773—Death of Louis XV—Studies in the Alps—In Flanders—Reconnaissance of the Channel ports—War with England—Camp of Vaussieux—Preparations for a landing in England—Unsuccessful naval campaign—The project of embarkation abandoned.

After I had finished my studies in my native city of Montpellier, my father sent me, at the age of fifteen, to Paris, and placed me in the preparatory school, directed by M. Berthaud, at that time the most celebrated for pupils intended for the engineers and the artillery. Towards the end of the year 1770, I underwent a first examination under the Abbé Bossut, for admission into the School of Application at Mezières; but the number of places having been reduced, and the second examination deferred, my parents preferred placing me in the infantry; I was appointed sub-lieutenant in the regiment of Médoc, which I joined at Montauban in the spring of 1773. At that time an artificial scarcity excited popular tumults in the south of France; at Montauban the sedition was very serious, and was suppressed with great difficulty, by the interference of the military. It was easy to foresee, even then, of what excesses this turbulent population was capable, and how much the bonds of obedience to the laws were already relaxed.

The regiment, of which the marquis de Mauroy had just obtained the command, was sent to Briançon. The year which I passed there was more advantageously employed than any other of my youth. Being charged with the instruction and the detail of some companies in one of the forts, during a long and severe winter, I devoted myself to my profession, and laid down a system of military studies which I have always followed.

In the following winter the battalion to which I belonged having relieved the garrison of the Fort *des trois Têtes*, I took advantage of this kind of exile to apply more seriously to the study of the attack and defence of fortresses, and to practise the drawing of maps and plans. About

this time, 1774, the year of the death of Louis XVth, and of the accession of Louis XVIth, I obtained a furlough; during my absence the regiment of Médoc, which, since the war of 1757, after having made part of the army which beseiged Mahon, had remained in the southern provinces, was ordered to the north, and first to Valenciennes. Before rejoining it, I passed some weeks at Paris at the house of my colonel, the marquis de Mauroy. He presented me to the count de Maillebois, one of our best generals, whom his disgrace had deprived of the highest military honors, but whose superior talents were nevertheless acknowledged by his rivals. He received me with kindness, and I am indebted to him for some good advice.

I found at Valenciennes new and greater resources for my improvement. In the dauphin's regiment of infantry, which was part of the garrison, I met with some officers, who, like myself, were pursuing the study of their profession. Among them was M. de Servan, brother of the celebrated attorney-general to the parliament of Grenoble, who was afterwards minister of war, and wrote the work which he has since published under the title of "*Soldat Citoyen;*" M. Lacuée, minister of the war department under the empire, who wrote several articles for the Encyclopédiè; and the count de Grimoard, the same who published an essay upon battles. We worked hard together. I studied the history of the wars in Flanders, and the campaigns of our best generals on that frontier. I visited the most celebrated fields of battle, such as Denain, Fontenoy, &c. One day I was passing over that of Malplaquet, and following the critical narrative of Feuquières which I had in my hand, and looking in the wood of Sars for the passage by which prince Eugene, after having turned the left of the French line, broke and separated the cavalry, and by that movement decided the fate of that bloody day, which was so disastrous to the French armies. A veteran, whom I met upon an ancient road which crosses the wood, and which is still called *La Chaussée de Brunehaut*, replied to my questions respecting the locality, with as much precision as if he had witnessed the action, so that I could not refrain from expressing my surprise. "To be sure I was there," said he; "I accompanied my father, the miller, who served the prince as a guide. At that time (11th Sept. 1709) I was fourteen years old, and have

a vivid recollection of all I then saw." In fact he gave me a faithful account of the combats that took place at different points, and his statements perfectly agreed with the narrative of Feuquières. "There," said he, "is the path which we took when we left the mill. See that little chapel still perforated with balls; there was the centre and the hottest of the battle. Further towards the right you will still see the high hedges, behind which so many of the Dutch perished." Is it not extraordinary that I should be able to speak, from the testimony of an eye-witness, of a battle fought one hundred and twenty years ago?

A short time afterwards the marquis de Castries, who had the chief command in French Flanders, and who, when governor of Montpellier, knew and protected my family, reviewing the regiment of Médoc, recognised me, and gave me great encouragement. I presented to him an essay on reconnoitring the ground; he invited me to his head-quarters at Lisle, where a great theoretical school had just been formed, for the new manœuvres proposed by major Pirsch. Measures were at length taken to fix the principles of our excellent infantry regulations, according to those of the Prussian armies, which had hitherto been either ill-understood, or too servilely and diversely imitated. These simple methods were adopted, which are applicable to every kind of formation, for breaking and restoring the order of battle, as may be required. The school of the platoon was regulated, and limited for the manœuvres of the battalion, and that of the battalion for the manœuvres of the line;—above all, uniformity of command for the details and for the whole was prescribed, and easily obtained, from the quick apprehension of the French soldier.

The marquis de Castries was pleased to question me respecting the nature of my studies. He even gave me a kind of problem to solve, in instructions for a reconnoisance relative to the investing of the fortress of Valenciennes. He presented and strongly recommended me to lieut.-general count de Puységur, one of the best inspectors of infantry, who soon attached me to his service as aid-de-camp, and always honored me with a paternal interest. I was indebted to his prudent counsel and even to his strictness, for not suffering myself to be diverted from my military studies, by too ardent a taste for literature

and the pleasures of society. My excellent protector did not think fit to separate me from my regiment; there, he said, lay my principal duty, my most useful occupation, and the basis of my profession. When I had accompanied him in his tours of inspection and passed some time in his family, he sent me back to my garrison.

Towards the end of the year 1776, the regiment of Médoc left Valenciennes to occupy Le Quesnoy, which removed me to a short distance only [illegible] the ordinary residence of my general, at the chateau [illegible] Raysmes, the seat of his father-in-law, the Marquis de Cernay. The military system of M. de Saint Germain was on the point of being introduced, and engaged the attention of the whole army. I wrote some observations on the new ordinances. My colonel allowed me to make trial, in a sham attack of outposts, of a plan of entrenchments which I had proposed in my memoir on the investing of Valenciennes.

In 1777 the regiment having set out on its march for Calais, I was summoned to Dunkirk by the count de Puységur. He commanded in that part of Flanders, and had been entrusted with a special mission. The insurrection of the English colonies in North America had broken out in 1775. The French government, which ever since the peace of 1763, and the loss of the fine colony of Canada, bore with impatience the humiliating conditions which it had been compelled to accept, after a war which was equally disastrous and ill-conducted, saw with secret joy the flourishing colonies of England ready to emancipate themselves; it desired their success, and favored their efforts. Its assistance, though not yet avowed, had excited the warmest remonstrances on the part of England. Lous XVI. since his accession to the throne, had devoted all his care to the re-establishment of the navy. Great armaments were prepared in the arsenals of Brest and Toulon. French officers, whose ardor had become impatient of a long peace, went to America, where they were received in the ranks of the insurgents. The young marquis de la Fayette was one of the first to give [illegible] example of the most generous attachment to the cause of [illegible]n independence as soon as it had been proclaimed. [illegible] fitted out a man-of-war at his own expense, and [illegible] a volunteer to join the army of general Washing-

ton, if not with the permission, at least with the approbation of the king and his ministers, who could not be ignorant of so decisive a step. The marshal de Castries caused a proposal to be made to me, to accompany M. de la Fayette, with some other officers. I eagerly accepted the proposal but it was too late. The government, whose interest it was still to dissemble the succor it afforded, stopped for some time this kind of emigration.

The war between the two rival maritime powers was imminent, but the preparations were still covered with a mysterious veil. A train of field artillery intended for the insurgents had been prepared at the arsenal of Douay, and was to pass through Dunkirk to be embarked at Ostende. It is well known that there was at that time an English commissioner at Dunkirk, whose business it was to see that the works and fortifications of that port, which were destroyed according to the most shameful article of the Peace of 1763, were not restored. We had been and were still obliged to endure this disgrace, and to conceal from Mr. Frazer the arrival and departure of this artillery. The remonstrances of that officer, if he had been immediately informed of the passage of this train and the place to which it had been sent, would have embarrassed the commander-in-chief. The count de Puységur, in order to prevent difficulties, which at least would have been unseasonable, invited Mr. Frazer to dine with him, to meet the principal officers of the garrison. I was deputed to take care that no message should reach the English commissioner, and to detain him as long as possible by spinning out the conversation on professional subjects. I acted this mortifying part as well as I could, but with secret vexation. The convoy passed through the town at the beginning of the night and was sent to Ostende. The English commissioner was or pretended to be ignorant of it.

I passed the remainder of the winter at Calais, and then joined my general, and accompanied him in his tour of inspection. He took me with him to Paris, where I obtained for my brother Saint-Marcel a sub-lieutenant's commission in the regiment of Aquitaine, commanded by the marquis de Crillon. On my return to Calais I engaged with my friend Poncet in making a reconnoisance of the coasts and ports of the channel. I was far from foreseeing

that this employment would one day be personally useful to me—that I should see the suppositions of an expedition against England realised, which I then made as a problem to be solved. The count de Maillebois, who had matured a plan for the invasion of England, the preliminaries of which resembled those which have since been executed by Napoleon, had just been directed by the minister of war to examine what arrangements might be made in the little ports on the channel between Dunkirk and Boulogne, and more especially for the re-establishment of that of Ambleteuse, which had been long since abandoned. He sent me detailed instructions on this subject, and soon repaired himself to Ambleteuse, where I presented to him the plan which I had laid down, and the memoir which I had prepared according to his directions. I then accompanied him in his tour on the northern frontier, to visit several fields of battle, most of which I had already examined. I admired the rapid coup-d'œil, the justice of the observations of this general, who doubtless wanted only favorable opportunities to raise him to the highest rank.

War between England and France broke out at the beginning of 1778. A grand plan of offensive operations was resolved upon by the cabinet of Versailles. While the armaments in the ports of Brest and Cadiz were hastened, and the union of a great combined fleet was projected, a second expedition, which was confided to Count d'Estaing, sailed from Toulon to strike an unexpected blow in the Antilles, to carry succours and effect a diversion which should be advantageous to the insurgents. The French Brest fleet, under the count d'Orvilliers, attacked the English fleet at the entrance of the channel. At the same time troops were assembled in the camps of Vaussieux in Normandy and of Paramé in Brittany. The count de Puységur was employed in the latter camp, and I was to repair thither; but the regiment of Médoc being ordered to form part of the camp at Vaussieux, I could not be detached from it. The regiment was at first cantoned at Vire, and formed part of a brigade especially destined to exercise under the command of the count de Rochambeau. The corps which was to assemble in the plain of Vaussieux consisted of about 20,000 men of all arms, under the command of marshal de Broglie.

When the camp broke up, the regiment of Médoc was

sent to Lille, and soon afterwards,—namely, at the beginning of 1779,—to the coast of Brest. The project and the preparations for an invasion of England became more serious. The combined Spanish and French fleets were assembled in the port of Brest; the ports of St. Malò and Havre were fixed upon for the embarkation of the troops which were cantoned in the provinces of Normandy and Brittany. The count de Vaux, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, had his head-quarters at St. Malò. Twelve battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs drafted from different regiments which did not make part of the army, were assembled in the environs of St. Malò, under the command of count de Rochambeau. Those of the regiment of Médoc formed part of this chosen body, which was to form the vanguard; I therefore marched with them. The count de Puységur, major-general of this army, summoned me to join him, and without discontinuing to perform my duty as lieutenant of chasseurs, I at the same time fulfilled my functions as aid-de-camp to my general, with his young brother the chevalier, and his cousin count Maxime de Puységur. I was very actively employed in the multifarious details of the duties of the general staff, and in all that was relative to the preparation for the embarkation both of the troops and of the artillery, as well as the correspondence. I assiduously attended the essays of embarking and disembarking, which the count de Rochambeau caused the troops of his vanguard frequently to practise.

Towards the end of August the grand combined fleets, under the command of the count d'Orvilliers, having sailed from Brest to the number of sixty ships of the line, in order to encounter the English fleet and compel it to abandon the coasts of the channel, we impatiently expected the frigate which was to bring us orders to put to sea; but our expectation was disappointed; the English remained in port. There was no general battle. Diseases ravaged the French and Spanish fleets, and the count d'Orvilliers, after a fatiguing cruize, and an idle display of a superior force before Plymouth, was obliged to return with the combined fleets to Brest. The Spaniards, who were discontented, soon separated from the French, and sailed to Cadiz. Such was the termination of this campaign, the

preparations for which had cost immense sums. The project of a landing in England was abandoned.*

The count de Puységur having obtained for me a captain's commission, I went to join him in Flanders, and returned to Paris with him in the month of January, 1780.

* The earliest intelligence of the sailing of the combined fleets from Brest was brought to England by General Lloyd, (author of the History of the Seven Years' War,) who, being at Boulogne and well informed of the proceedings of the French, embarked on board a neutral ship, and came to Portsmouth. On landing he immediately proceeded to the residence of the Governor. It was Sunday, and the governor was at church. He desired that he might be immediately sent for, which was done. General Lloyd (who was, I believe, known to him) accosted him rather abruptly with, "What have you to do at church! Have you a mind to have the church knocked about your ears! Don't you know that a French and Spanish fleet of nearly sixty sail of the line is at sea, and that an invasion of England is contemplated?" The governor was greatly surprised at this intelligence, and the general continued, "Where is our fleet? If not in port, light vessels should be sent in search of it in case the Admiral should not be aware of the sailing of the French fleet. His force is so inferior (thirty sail of the line) that he will of course hasten into port, and when he is once there, the French will give up their project, which is to get possession of Portsmouth or Plymouth; but they will not attempt it unless they can first destroy our fleet." General Lloyd, on conversing with the Governor on his means of defence, found that by some strange blunder the greater part of the cannon-balls were too large for the guns, so that, as he used afterwards to say in joke, it was necessary to send balls by post from Woolwich.

Having given this important news to the Governor of Portsmouth, General Lloyd immediately posted to London to acquaint the Ministry. (There were no telegraphs in those days.)

The appearance of the combined fleets having caused an extraordinary alarm in England, General Lloyd was induced to write his celebrated "Political and Military Rhapsody on the Invasion and Defence of Great Britain and Ireland," which was printed in 1779, but suppressed at the desire of the Ministers.—*Note of the Translator.*

CHAPTER II.

War in America in 1780—Embarkation—Passage—Landing at Rhode Island—Speech of General Rochambeau—Cantonment in Rhode Island—Influence of the arrival of the French army—Visit of General Washington—Treason of Arnold—Proceedings of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia and the two Carolinas against General Green—Mission to General Washington—Action between the squadrons—Extortions of Arnold—Campaign in Virginia—Co-operation of Admiral de Grasse—Siege of York-town—Taking of York-town—Winter-quarters—Defeat of Admiral De Grasse—Negotiations between the English Government and the Congress—Return of the French army to the northern provinces—Departure of General Rochambeau—Formation of the corps of the expedition to Jamaica—Residence at Boston—Prophetic words of Dr. Cooper—Embarkation—Departure—Report to the Chevalier de Chastellux—Voyage—Tempest—Shipwreck of *La Bourgogne*—Arrival at Porto Cabello—Announcement of the peace—Departure from Porto Cabello, 3d April, 1783—Arrival at Cape Français—Situation of Saint Domingo—Departure for France—Arrival at Brest.

The king had resolved to give direct and effectual assistance to the United States. France had recognised their independence, and treated with the new republic through the medium of Dr. Franklin. The marquis de la Fayette, after having bravely fought under the command of Washington, had returned to Europe to solicit powerful aid, which was the more urgently necessary because the English had obtained great advantages in the preceding campaign, and had greatly increased their forces by sending Hessian troops, whom their avaricious sovereign had sold to them.

The French government resolved to send to America a corps of 12,000 men, the command of which was given to general Rochambeau, a choice which was highly approved by the nation and the army. That brave general, who was as distinguished by his talents as by his noble character, at the recommendation of count de Puységur, was pleased to choose me for one of his aid-de-camps, an honor which I shared with the chevalier de Lameth, count Charles de Damas, count de Vauban, count de Fersen count de Lauberbière, nephew of the general-in-chief, and M. Collot, an officer of the light troops. The army consisted of two divisions: the first, commanded by lieutenant-general baron de Viomesnil, who had under

him the count his brother, was assembled at Brest; the second division, which was not organised at first, was not to sail till some months after the first. This latter was composed of four regiments of infantry, *Bourbonnais*, *Soissonnais*, *Santonge*, and *Deux Ponts*, and of a legionary corps, commanded by the duke de Lauzun. Major-general the chevalier de Chastellux filled the office of major-general,* and brigadier-general de Beville that of quarter-master-general. The artillery was commanded by brigadier-general d'Arboville, and the engineers by brigadier-general Desandroins. A train of field-artillery, a train of battering cannon, and large magazines were formed at Brest. The requisite number of transports was sent from St. Malò.

The squadron destined to protect the convoy consisted of seven ships of the line, three frigates, and some smaller men-of-war, under the command of rear-admiral the chevalier de Te'rnay.

The count de Rochambeau, who hastened the embarkation, employed us in attending to all the details to which I had been already much accustomed at St. Malò; the troops being embarked, on the 10th of April all the officers of the staff went on board the ships assigned to them. The commander-in-chief embarked in the *duc de Bourgogne*, which bore the admiral's flag. The place assigned to me was on board the Jason, commanded by M de la Clochetterie, who had distinguished himself during the preceding campaign by his memorable engagement in the frigate *La Belle Poule*. My fellow-passengers on board this vessel were M. Charles de Lameth, count de Fersen, and count de Charlus, afterwards duke de Castries, and son of the marshal. On the 12th of April every thing was in readiness to set sail, and on the 15th, the wind being in the north, the whole convoy anchored in the roads of Bertheaume; but on the following day, just as the squadron was weighing anchor, the wind rose in the west, and the convoy received orders to re-enter.

The wind continued variable till the 1st of May, though it still remained in the western quarter. These winds,

* The officer called *major-general*, in the French service, has the same duties to perform for the whole army as the major for a regiment. He has also to forward the correspondence of the commander-in-chief, and to make a report of the operations.—*Note of the Translator.*

which were contrary to us, were favorable to the squadron commanded by admiral Graves, consisting of eleven ships of the line, and evidently destined to intercept our route. At last, on the 2d, at four o'clock in the morning, we also prepared to sail with a good wind from the northeast, and followed the admiral, who headed the squadron. After having passed the strait and gained the open sea, the squadron and the convoy took a southern route, safely crossed the passage of the Raz, and having all united we proceeded on our voyage.

Our departure not having been observed by the enemy, it was thought that admiral Graves might come up with us off Cape Finistèrre. We were in a fair way of doubling the cape when the wind got up and again became contrary; it drove us into the gulf; and we were obliged to bring-to, and it was not till the 15th or 16th of May, after having suffered excessive fatigue during several days, and sustained some damage, that the squadron and the convoy doubled the cape with a wind from the northeast. admiral Graves not having made his appearance, our fears ceased. Chevalier de Ternay decided on taking a southern route, the same which had been chosen by count d'Estaing; that to the westward was the most direct, but not so safe for a large convoy, being exposed to greater danger from variable winds, whereas by getting into the latitude of the monsoons, our voyage would be more easy. A milder climate was more favorable to the health of the crews and the soldiers, and we had also less chance of meeting the enemy; at length the southerly winds, which generally prevail during the fine season on the coasts of North America, would, to all appearance, permit us to proceed along the coast and steer towards the north, to the point where we should find it most advisable to land, according to the situation of the affairs of our allies, and of new circumstances which could not be foreseen.

We continued steering southwards till the 30th of May, when we were in 28°, 58′ N. lat. and 34°, 44′ W. longitude. Our able captain, M. de la Clochetterie, represented to us that it was more advisable to make this long circuit, instead of taking the middle course near the Azores.

The trade winds, on this side of the tropics, are, it is said, generally from N.E. to E.N E, and those which prevail on the other side are S.E.;—under the tropics

there is an easy east wind. Before reaching the latitude where these general winds can be taken advantage of, it is common to meet with sudden gusts and frequent calms, the constant cause of which appears to be the reduction of the contrary wind and currents from the N. and the S. to the same direction from E. to W.; the conflicting forces being destroyed or balanced, must produce calms, and accidental and necessarily violent reactions will occasion squalls in the zones which are nearest to that in which the general winds occur. It is, therefore, more prudent to stand to the south till you have passed them, and this course is more safe than attempting to proceed as soon as possible in the latitude of the place where you intend to land.

We began to entertain doubts respecting the destination of the expedition. Most of the naval officers thought that we were going to St. Domingo, and that the pretext of armaments for North America had served to conceal the object of an expedition, consisting both of land and naval forces, intended to attack Jamaica. The perseverance of the admiral in steering to the south, though we had passed, several days before, the zone of the general winds, rendered this conjecture very probable. I for my part was much alarmed at it, for I perceived that so numerous an expedition would cause many difficulties, and I dreaded the intense heat of the climate: but above all, I had heartily espoused the cause of the independence of the Americans, and I should have felt extreme regret at losing the honor of combating for their liberty. At length in the night of the 29th of May, the admiral having given the signal to steer to the west, all our doubts were removed.

From the 1st to the 15th of May we had passed from the 34° to the 62° of longitude, constantly keeping nearly the same latitude, and had thus proceeded about 800 leagues without experiencing any accident, or meeting any vessel except five sail, which crossed our route, and which the admiral caused to be chased by the frigates and a ship of the line, to see that the way was clear. An English brig bound from Halifax to St. Kitt's got among the squadron, and was captured by La Surveillante frigate. The captian informed us that Charleston had been besieged and taken by General Clinton. The admiral gave instructions for the order of battle, in case we should meet

with the enemy, and his arrangements for the landing. The count de Rochambeau likewise gave his instructions, fixing the order of battle and providing for every contingency, with the greatest perspicuity and precision. On the following days, the admiral, steering to the N. E. exercised the squadron to change from the order of sailing to the order of battle, the convoy remaining to the leeward. The Surveillante frigate chased and took a brig carrying twelve guns. The captain of this vessel, a major and some other officers, who were going from the army of general Clinton to that of general Vaughan in the Windward Islands, confirmed the news of the taking of Charleston by general Clinton, on the 15th of May. The American general, Lincoln, after having with the brave garrison defended the place for forty-six days, after opening of the trenches, had been forced to capitulate. These prisoners also told us that their troops had already penetrated very far north into Carolina; that admiral Arbuthnot was still at Charleston at the time of their departure; and that a squadron of nine ships of the line, probably that of admiral Graves, was expected there. Even supposing that these statements were exaggerated, it was probable that we should meet with a superior force on the coast. At length on the 19th of June, the commander-in-chief gave notice that the expedition was to land at Rhode Island, from which we were still about 300 leagues distant. The wind being S.S.E. the squadron was ordered to steer N.W. On the following day the greater part of the convoy being to leeward, and only some vessels to windward, at the distance of a league, the frigates a-head made a signal for sails on our larboard, which were on a starboard tack, and which they soon announced to be a superior force. The general ordered the Neptune and l'Evillé to give chase, and the rest to keep close, and the convoy to pass to leeward. The ships giving chase soon discovered six men-of-war, five of the line and one frigate; they fell back upon the squadron, and the enemy chasing towards us, we had reason to presume that the convoy, which was much to the windward, had been perceived by them before the squadron, and that they had given chase, without knowing the strength of the escort. The admiral then formed in line of battle. The enemy, being to windward, remained out of cannon-shot; only one of their ships

of the line, which doubtless had pursued the chase too far, was at a great distance from the others, and might have been cut off and separated from its squadron by the Neptune and Jason, which were at the head of our line. The convoy was then altogether, and covered by our frigates; and if the desire of protecting it had not prevailed over every other consideration, it might have been wished that the admiral would order the ships of the line at the head of our squadron to commence an active chase of that ship, while with his five other ships of the line he would have detained and fought the four English ships. The latter seeing that one of their squadron was in danger, and ready to fall to leeward, tacked, and approaching it, came across our course.

The admiral desiring to form his line well, and hindered doubtless by the Provence of the line, which, not keeping the wind, was unable to take its post in the wake of the Jason, gave signal to the two leading ships to slacken sail, in order to fill up more speedily the too great interval between them and himself. He then immediately resolved to take his post before the Provence. During these manœuvres the English vessel tacked and steered towards the head of the English line, which had tacked in order to join it. Every instant lessened our hopes of cutting it off. The admiral was scarcely in our wake when he gave the signal to crowd sail, and soon afterwards to commence action. The Neptune and Jason were then within half cannon-shot of the last English ship of the line, which received successively a broadside of all our ships of the line. The others, though more distant, protected it by their fire, till it had reached the rear of the line. After this cannonade, the enemy keeping close hauled, the admiral made the signal to tack and resume our course. We were then proceeding on contrary tacks, the English sailing from us; we fired a general broadside; the sternmost ship passed nearer to us than the others, and we perceived that its rigging was much damaged.

The enemy were soon at a distance from us, and we scarcely heard the report of their signal guns. We proceeded at night-fall to rally the convoy. The admiral gave the signal to steer to the north all night, and transmitted orders to form the line abreast.

At day-break, the enemy being no longer in sight, the squadron formed as before in two columns, and we proceeded on our course.

This action, or rather skirmish, lasted not more than an hour-and-a-half. Our loss was inconsiderable; only one of the English ships of the line was very roughly handled. The Neptune, which was the nearest to it, perceived that it was the Ruby, of 74 guns. We were lost in conjecture what squadron this might be. Was it that of admiral Arbuthnot, or a part of that of admiral Graves? Was it detached and steering for the Antilles, or was there reason to fear that Arbuthnot and Graves, joining, after falling in with us, would wait for our arrival on the coast. Our captain, M. de la Clochetterie, had during the engagement loudly blamed the fault committed by M. de Ternay in causing his two foremost vessels to slacken sail, and which had allowed the Ruby, which was already cut off from its line, to disengage itself and rejoin the squadron. Being summoned to a council with the other captains on board the admiral's ship, and being questioned in his turn what he thought of the destination of this English squadron, "It is too late, sir," said he; "I could have told you yesterday evening. It depended upon you to ask the captain of the Ruby." This reproach, just perhaps, but too severe, was at the same time an act of insubordination, which could scarcely be excused by the brilliant valor and impetuous character of la Clochetterie.

The chevalier de Ternay, one of the best officers in the French navy, was in a very difficult situation. The object of his voyage was to protect the arrival of succors to the United States, on which the issue of the war depended. Being certain of the superiority of the naval force of the enemy, ought he, when so near the landing place, to have risked the fate of the expedition by engaging in a serious battle, to profit by a momentary advantage? He had on board the general-in-chief and his staff, and though M. de Rochambeau told him, as soon as the enemy's vessels were descried, that he begged he would look upon him as a common sailor, and consider only the honor of the king's flag, he felt the whole weight of his responsibility, and thought that it was more prudent to content himself with covering his convoy. Yet, when he aftewards learnt that these five English ships of the line, commanded by

commodore Cornwallis, and lately repaired at Jamaica, were going to the Windward Islands to join the fleet of admiral Rodney, and give him for the rest of the campaign a great superiority over the French fleet of M. de Guichen, he was extremely mortified, and his premature death was ascribed to that cause.

The end of our voyage was as tedious and troublesome as the beginning had been, after leaving the Bay of Biscay. For a whole fortnight we were constantly impeded by calms, variable winds, and currents setting to the north. The meeting and the disappearance of the five English ships made our admiral determine to land in Chesapeak Bay, because he justly supposed that admiral Graves would collect his force on the coast of New York. It was not till the 4th or 5th of July that the frigates having sounded, found a bottom at a depth of twenty-two fathoms. The squadron soon after brought-to, and we had only eighteen fathoms. We found by observation that we were in lat. 37° and long. 77°. We were steering towards Cape Henry, and were preparing to cast anchor, when several sail were descried ahead. The signal to cast anchor was revoked, and eighteen ships of the line were counted. The admiral gave orders to prepare for action, and to keep close, and afterwards gave directions to tack, and pointed out the change of course which he intended to adopt during the night. At sunset the enemy remained to the west of us, and we could scarcely distinguish them. The convoy crowded sail, and kept together to windward of our line. We passed the night with matches lighted, not knowing whether we were chased by a superior force. The admiral having taken the lead at night-fall transmitted orders to keep a close line, to follow him without regard to the direction of the wind, and to hinder the ships of the convoy from falling to the leeward. The admiral did not put up his lights till midnight, and steered to the northeast. At daybreak we met with two English frigates; they were ahead, and we could not suppose that they belonged to the squadron which we had avoided. We took a small vessel, the captain of which reported that this squadron was proceeding to New York, and the admiral announced that we were going to land at Rhode Island. It seemed probable that the division of admiral Arbuthnot, the five ships of the line which we had engaged

and which we supposed to be still in these seas, and, lastly, the fleet of admiral Graves, had united to intercept our passage. The slowness of our progress gave reason to fear this ; several transports were in bad condition, and in want of water. Some of them were obliged to be towed. On the 7th and 8th of July we were fifty leagues from land. As it seemed all but certain that we could not avoid a disadvantageous combat, the admiral had resolved to double Cape Cod, to enter the port of Boston, but the opinion of the council, which he assembled, and to which he admitted the generals of the land forces, was, that it was preferable to make direct for Rhode Island, where the convoy might always enter under the protection of the fire of the squadron. This was leaving much to chance. Fortune favored us, and, after four days of thick fogs, calms, and faint and contrary winds, we descried the American shore. Pilots from the island of Martha's Vineyard conducted the squadron to the anchorage of Rhode Island. The mist having cleared away, we did not perceive in the horizon any suspicious sail. The sky was serene, the sea beautiful : we admired the summits of the hills gilded by the last rays of the sun, which set in an ocean of fire. At length, on the 11th of June, after a voyage of seventy days, the squadron and the whole convoy anchored in the outer road of Rhode Island, and on the following day in the port, off the town of Newport.

Our joy may be easily conceived after so long a passage, and such well-founded alarms for the success of our expedition. We had at length reached the country which we so ardently desired to see, where the bare appearance of the French flag would revive the hopes of the defenders of liberty. We were welcomed with the acclamations of the few patriots that remained in the island, which had lately been occupied by the English, who had been forced to abandon it. Scarcely was the arrival of the French squadron known when the authorities and principal inhabitants of the neighboring country hastened to welcome us. The count de Rochambeau was complimented by the public officers. "We come," said he, "in the name of our sovereign, to defend with you the most righteous cause. Depend upon our fraternal affection and treat us as brethren. We shall follow your example in the field of honor, and we shall give you that of the strictest dis-

cipline and of respect for your laws. This little French army is only the vanguard; it will speedily be followed by more considerable succors, and I shall be only the second to general Washington." The landing of the troops and of the artillery was effected with the utmost expedition. It was foreseen that the English, who had concentrated their forces both by sea and land at New York, would not give us time to establish ourselves at Rhode Island, and we were informed by general Washington that Sir Henry Clinton was embarking his troops, and would soon come to attack us, with the squadrons united under the command of admiral Arbuthnot, which were anchored at Sandy Hook, below New York, at the mouth of the Hudson. General Washington, who observed his motions, crossed the river above West Point with the best part of his troops, and marched towards Kingsbridge, to the north of the island, where he made a show of attacking. This manœuvre kept back the English general, who hastened to land his troops and renounced his project. Arbuthnot put to sea, and appeared off Rhode Island with eleven ships of the line and some frigates a few days after our arrival.

M. de Rochambeau had not lost a moment. He had himself examined the principal points of defence, had caused batteries of heavy artillery and mortars, to be erected along the channel, with furnaces to heat the balls. Our ships were moored with springs on the cables, and the English admiral did not attempt to force this line in order to penetrate into the inner road. He took his station off the coast, and contented himself with observing us, anchoring at the point of Long Island. It was then that we learned that the eleven sail before which we had changed our course at the entrance of the Chesapeak, were for the most part only frigates and large vessels, which were conveying to New York the English troops from Charleston. Thus fortune had twice offered us easy and most important success. I have said above that the French admiral M. de Ternay regretted the prudence of his conduct, notwithstanding the good reasons which had dictated it. He fell sick some weeks after our arrival at Rhode Island, and died.

The campaign was too far advanced, and our naval force too inferior for the French army to undertake any

thing important. General Rochambeau thought only of perfecting the defence of Rhode Island, by the mutual protection of the ships and the coast-batteries. The troops and the crews had suffered much from disorders occasioned by the ships being too crowded. The island had been devastated by the English and by the abode of the American troops. It was necessary to erect barracks to lodge the troops, to fit up hospitals at the bottom of the bay in the little town of Providence, to take measures for mounting the hussars of Lauzun; in a word, to provide for all the wants of the little army, while in winter-quarters. I was employed with my comrade chevalier Charles de Lameth in various reconnaisances relative to the defensive arrangements. I was likewise entrusted with several missions on shore, which, by making me acquainted with the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the country, gave me opportunities to study the manners, and to acquire more facility in speaking the language. I generally lodged in the little town of Providence, where I was particularly well received in the family of Dr. Bowne. I learned the spirit of the parties, and the real state of affairs.

The presence of the squadron and of the French army, although still paralysed, and in fact blocked up by admiral Arbuthnot, had effected a very advantageous diversion, which hindered the English from profiting by all their advantages after the taking of Charleston, so that instead of acting in the southern provinces, that is, the two Carolinas, with preponderating forces, they were obliged to bring back the greater part to New York. General Washington and general Rochambeau decided on passing the whole of the winter in passive observation; always holding themselves ready to profit by the most favorable circumstances which might present themselves. The whole of this comparative suspension of hostilities was well employed in putting the American army in good condition for the opening of the campaign; and general Rochambeau on his side, who was expecting the arrival of a second division, prepared himself to aid our allies with vigor. General Washington, accompanied by the marquis de la Fayette, repaired in person to the French head-quarters. We had been impatient to see the hero of liberty. His dignified address, his simplicity of manners, and mild gravity, surpassed our expectation, and won

every heart. After having conferred with count Rochambeau, as he was leaving us to return to his head-quarters near West Point, I received the welcome order to accompany him as far as Providence. We arrived there at night: the whole of the population had assembled from the suburbs, we were surrounded by a crowd of children carrying torches, reiterating the acclamations of the citizens; all were eager to approach the person of him whom they called their father, and pressed so closely around us that they hindered us from proceeding. General Washington was much affected, stopped a few moments, and pressing my hand, said, "We may be beaten by the English; it is the chance of war; but behold an army which they can never conquer."

It was at this time, and during the absence of general Washington, that general Arnold attempted to carry into effect the crime which he meditated, of delivering to the English the fortress of West Point, which had been confided to him, as being one of the bravest and most able officers of the American army. His infamous treachery was discovered by the arrest of major André, who, disguised as a peasant, had come to confer with him, and was taking to Sir Henry Clinton the information and plans which the traitor had delivered to him. Arnold being informed of the arrest of André, hastily embarked on board a vessel, and fled to New York, where he brought only the useless assistance of his perfidious advice; and the unfortunate major, one of the best officers of the English army, and a man of a most estimable character, being tried and justly condemned as a spy, atoned for his imprudence with his life.

While these events were passing in the north, lord Cornwallis prosecuted in the south the plan of his campaign. He was ready to march to North Carolina, when lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, whom he had detached to dislodge general Morgan from his position on the Pacolet, was beaten by him with the loss of more than 800 men. This event did not divert lord Cornwallis from his project of penetrating into Virginia. He left a small corps of troops, under general Rawdon, to cover South Carolina, and rally the remains of Tarleton's corps, and proceeded by the upper route to the foot of the mountains, which afforded him more facilities for fording the rivers. He

thus abandoned all communication with Charleston, made the corps of general Leslie join him, and assembled his forces at Ramsoure-Mill, on the southern fork of the Catawbaw. Being deprived of Tarleton's light troops, which had formed his first van-guard, and not being able to reconnoitre his march to any great distance, Cornwallis resolved to prevent by the celerity of his movements the assembling of the militia and of the American troops, which were advancing to the support of general Morgan, He caused the greater part of the baggage to be burnt—a severe trial of the discipline and devotedness of the soldier, and which never succeeds, except with a commander who is equally beloved and esteemed by those of whom he requires such sacrifices. Cornwallis was adored by his men, who were the flower of the veteran bands of the English army, who had fought and triumphed under him at Trenton and Germantown, and at Brandywine. They followed him with implicit confidence, forced the passage of the Catawbaw, which was feebly defended by the militia, and occupied Salisbury, in the high country of North Carolina.

General Green, who had succeeded general Gates, was at that time with a corps of regular American troops and some battalions of militia, on the east bank of the Pedee in South Carolina, between Camden and Charleston. As soon as he was informed of the movements of lord Cornwallis, he proceeded by forced marches towards the Moravian settlements in North Carolina. Being still too weak to attempt to stop the progress of the British troops, whose march he constantly retarded by breaking down the bridges which he met with on his route, he passed the Dan. He was then only one day's march in advance of the enemy, and intercepted his route. Lord Cornwallis did not venture to attack him, because he was already in want of provisions, and feared that general Green, supported by the militia of the province of Virginia, would oppose him with a force too greatly superior. The English general thought it best to fall back to Hillsborough and take up a position there. His proclamation at first revived the spirits of the loyalists. He succeeded in inducing some of them to join the ranks of his army, but 200 of these unhappy deserters, being surprised and surrounded by a detachment of American light troops, were,

without mercy, put to the sword. This example cooled the zeal of the partizans of Great Britain, and the English army met henceforward only with timid friends or obstinate enemies.

Lord Cornwallis could no longer hold his position at Hillsborough; want of provisions obliged him to quit it and remove his camp to the creek d'Allamance. General Green, having on his side received the reinforcements of men and ammunition which he expected from Virginia, took his position at Guildford-court-house. Lord Cornwallis, perceiving this offensive movement, resolved to hazard an engagement, from the success of which he hoped nothing less than a general rising of the loyalists and the submission of the two Carolinas. On the 13th of March he encamped at Quaker's Meeting, almost in sight of the American army. The latter, well posted on an eminence surrounded by woods and thickets, was drawn up in order of battle in three lines. The first was composed of the militia of North Carolina, with two pieces of cannon; the second of the militia of Virginia, and the third of the continental troops of that state and of Maryland. The two wings were supported by detachments of dragoons and light infantry, on the right under the command of colonel Linck and lieutenant-colonel Washington, on the left under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lee. General Green waited in this order for the attack of the English. They advanced in two columns; that on the right, under general Leslie, was formed of the regiment of Bosc and of the 71st, supported by the first battalion of the guards. That on the left, commanded by brigadier-general O'Hara, was composed of the 23d and 33d, supported by the grenadiers and the second battalion of the guards. The Hessian chassieurs and the light infantry were posted in a wood, to support the artillery. The cavalry was in reserve. The effective force of the American army was 4500 men, the greater part of which consisted of militia: that of the English army was 5000 regular troops. The firing commenced on the part of the Americans with a brisk cannonade. While the English artillery was returning it, lord Cornwallis formed three columns of attack. Before they had attacked the first American line, the militia composing it took flight. The second line, consisting of the militia of Virginia, supported

for a considerable time the destructive fire of the English, but it gave way and was broken. The third line showed more steadiness. The shock was violent, and the combat sanguinary. Overpowered by numbers and turned on its left, this third line was also broken. The brigade of Virginia was surrounded, and suffered severely, two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the English. General Green, seeing his right wing threatened with an attack like that which had ruined his left wing, ordered the retreat. It was covered by the two corps of observation, which had been placed upon his wings, and which charged the English army so vigorously that they retook the two pieces of cannon which it had captured. The continental troops continued their retreat in good order; after having passed Reedyfork, three miles from the field of battle, they took up a position on the opposite bank, and on the following day proceeded to encamp at Ironworks, ten miles further.

The field of battle remained with the English, but their loss was more considerable than that of the Americans. The absolute want of provisions and the excessive fatigue of the troops would not permit lord Cornwallis to pursue the Americans. After this useless victory he was obliged to draw near to the sea and to retrograde to Wilmington on Cape Fear, at the distance of about 150 miles, in order to communicate with Charleston.

General Green being rid of so formidable an enemy, and having rallied his troops, penetrated without obstacle to Camden, a pretty strong post, where general Rawdon had entrenched himself. He vigorously defended himself against the superior force of Green, who could not besiege him for want of artillery, but obliged him to evacuate it. The same happened with Fort Watson, Orangeburg, and other fortified points, such as Molt Granby, Augusta and Ninety-six, which, having only small garrisons, fell successively into the hands of the Americans. Thus general Green delivered the two Carolinas, and obliged the English troops which were scattered through them to fall back upon Charleston, after having taken from them 500 prisoners.

Meantime the American general, by withdrawing his forces, had left Virginia unprotected, and lord Cornwallis hastened to take advantage of this circumstance. He crossed, without obstacle, North Carolina, took possession

of Halifax, and advanced as far as Petersburg, where he joined the British troops, which general Clinton had sent from New York, under the command of Arnold, to ravage that fine province. This traitor, who had become odious to the whole English army since the fatal death of major André, had obtained the rank of brigadier-general; and Sir Henry Clinton had taken the opportunity to send him away from New York, by giving him the command of this disastrous expedition On the 4th of January, 1781, he landed with 1800 men, most of them deserters like himself, at Westover, on the upper part of James River, and went to Richmond to destroy the magazines of ammunition and provisions, which the Americans had formed there. He was continuing his depredations, when the assembling of several corps of militia threatened to surround him. Then, descending James River, he retreated to Portsmouth, a town situated at the bottom of a creek, towards the entrance of the Chesapeake, to wait for the reinforcements which were to be sent him from New York. As soon as general Washington was informed of the expedition of Arnold, and of the danger which threatened Virginia, he proposed to count de Rochambeau to carry immediate succors thither, and to attack the traitor in the post where he had entrenched himself. It was on' occasion of the discussions which the two commanders-in-chief had on this subject that I was despatched by general Rochambeau to general Washington, whose head-quarters were then at New Windsor, on the right bank of the Hudson, three leagues above West Point. He had with him only the marquis de la Fayette and their respective aid-de-camps. His army was in barracks or cantonments five or six leagues further off, on the road to Philadelphia. The garrison of West Point consisted of 2000 continental troops.

I here interrupt the succinct narrative of the most remarkable events of the winter of 1781, to recall the impressions which I received during the short stay that I made in the family of the deliverer of America. The brilliant actions of great men cannot fail to be recalled by history; the anecdotes of their private life are equally worthy of being preserved because they often make us better acquainted with the principal traits of their character.

The general gave me a most cordial reception. He appeared to be highly satisfied with the despatches which

I delivered to him, in the presence of M. de la Fayette, colonel Hamilton, his aid-de-camp, and colonel Humphries, who performed the duties of chief of the staff. He withdrew to confer with them. Being invited to dinner, which was remarkably plain, I had leisure to admire the perfect harmony of his noble and fine countenance, with the simplicity of his language and the justice and depth of his observations. He generally sat long at table, and animated the conversation by unaffected cheerfulness. Much was said of the treachery of Arnold, of the firmness and moderation with which the general had just suppressed the insubordination of the troops of the state of Pennsylvania, and lastly of the situation of Virginia, of the marches and counter-marches of lord Cornwallis. I was particularly struck with the marks of affection which the general showed to his pupil, his adopted son the marquis de la Fayette. Seated opposite to him, he looked at him with pleasure, and listened to him with manifest interest. One of the company, (if I remember rightly, it was, I think, colonel Hamilton, who was afterwards so unfortunately and so prematurely snatched from the hopes of his country,) related the manner in which the general had received a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton, addressed to Mr. Washington. Taking it from the hands of the flag of truce, and seeing the direction, "This letter," said he, "is directed to a planter of the state of Virginia. I shall have it delivered to him, after the end of the war; till that time it shall not be opened." A second despatch was addressed to his Excellency General Washington.

On the following day general Washington was to go to West Point, and allowed me to accompany him. Count de Charlus, who had just arrived to pay his respects to the general, and to spend some days with his friend M. de la Fayette, was likewise of the party. By rather difficult paths, we passed the mountain, at the other side of which is the plateau, surrounded by steep eminences, where block houses had been built and strong batteries had been erected, to bar the course of the river by the aid of the bend, caused by the projection of this promontory. After having visited the forts and reviewed the garrison, as the day was declining, and we were going to mount our horses, the general perceived that M. de la Fayette, in consequence of his old wound, was very much fatigued. "It will be

better," said he, "to return by water; the tide will assist us in ascending against the stream." A boat was soon manned with good rowers, and we embarked. The cold became excessive: we had to make our way between the large flakes of ice which the river brought down. A heavy snow and the obscurity of the night soon rendered the danger more imminent, and the management of the boat, which filled with water, became increasingly difficult. We coasted the rocks which lined the right bank of the Hudson, between West Point and New Windsor, at the foot of which it is impossible to land. General Washington, perceiving that the master of the boat was very much alarmed, took the helm, saying, "Courage, my friends; I am going to conduct you, since it is my duty to hold the helm." After having with much difficulty made our way against the stream and the ice, we landed, and had to walk a league before we reached the head-quarters.

Returning to Rhode Island, where general Rochambeau was embarking a detachment of about 1500 men, under the command of baron de Viomesnil, on board the squadron, to convey them to Chesapeak Bay, I was ordered to go to New London, a small port on the coast of Connecticut opposite to the point of Long Island, and the anchorage of the English squadron, in order to watch it closely, while ours was preparing to put to sea. The English resolved to maintain their station at this anchorage, which was dangerous on account of the sudden squalls, had struck their top-sails and lowered their top-masts. This precaution, and their apparent security, sufficiently proved that they did not suspect that our squadron would soon leave the bay. M. Destouches, who, on the death of M. de Ternay, had taken the command, and hoisted his flag on board the Duc de Bourgogne, took advantage of a fresh northeast wind to set sail on the 8th of March. Admiral Arburthnot followed him closely, and appeared in sight of the coast of Virginia almost at the same time as the French squadron. On the 16th the two squadrons, coming in sight of each other at the distance of sixteen leagues from Chesapeak Bay, prepared for action. The French commenced by taking the opposite tack, an evolution which the English executed half an hour afterwards. They tacked a second time to avoid the shoals on the coast. The English squadron continued to proceed in the

opposite direction, and by means of its superiority in sailing to the French vessels, it soon was able to get to the windward of them, and then tacked and fell into the wake of the French ships. Up till that moment admiral Destouches being persuaded that the most fortunate result which he could hope for would still leave him so situated that it would be impossible for him to attain his object, had manœuvred without either avoiding or seeking an action. Seeing, however, that the English were on the point of overtaking his rear-guard, he resolved to hasten to meet them. He tacked accordingly, and made a signal to the leading ship to advance to the first of the enemy's line. The firing began on both sides. The strength of the two squadrons was nearly equal, each consisting of eight ships of the line, only the English had the advantage of one three-decker. The head of the English line having arrived, the van of the French squadron made the same movement to run along side of it. These portions of the two squadrons combated for some time running before the wind: but as this manœuvre was contrary to the plan of admiral Destouches to pass along side of the enemy to the leeward, he made his squadron turn as close to the wind as possible. This evolution, which enabled him to run before the head of the English line, completely succeeded.

The Robust had scarcely received the fire of the fifth French ship of the line, when she came before the wind followed by a frigate. Her fire was entirely silenced. The Conquérant, which had the most contributed to disable her, came up almost at the same time, after having been extremely damaged in her masts by two English ships.

As soon as admiral Destouches perceived this forced movement, he made the signal to take the opposite tack and restore the order of battle on the larboard tack without regarding the ordinary posts of the ships. This evolution was executed with equal precision and promptness. The English vessels had then backed their sails, and seemed to have suffered severely in their rigging. On the part of the French, two ships, the Ardent and the Conquérant, having given notice of the damage which they had sustained, the admiral continued to proceed on this same tack, always holding himself in readiness to receive

the English. Neither party was in condition to renew the combat. The English kept to windward and withdrew at night-fall. Three of their ships were totally dismantled. The French squadron continued its route to the southeast, and on the following day the admiral having assembled all his captains to consider what was to be done under the circumstances, it was agreed that the ships ought to return directly to Newport in Rhode Island, in order to repair.

Though the French evidently had the better in the action, the object in their expedition failed, and the English, without venturing to claim the victory, reaped all the fruits of it. They went and cast anchor at New Haven, within Chesapeak bay. From that time the great superiority which the British forces acquired in Virginia by a reinforcement of 2,000 men, sent from New York a few days afterwards under general Philips, left no doubt that the conquest of that province was the object proposed by the English in this campaign. The English troops ravaged that part of the province which is watered by James and York rivers; wherever they came, they destroyed the public establishments, and the warehouses and property of private individuals. These ravages, committed by the traitor Arnold, irritated the minds of the people. He had returned to Long Island with part of his troops, and being informed of the approach of lord Cornwallis, he went up to Petersburg, where he joined him. Arnold was to be second in command, but the noble character of lord Cornwallis shrunk from such an association, and he got rid of him by sending him back to New York with his bands of loyalists, under pretext of reinforcing the garrison of that place.

The marquis de la Fayette had just arrived in Virginia to oppose the English army, consisting of six or seven thousand chosen troops; he had only a corps of between three and four thousand men, of whom only fifteen hundred were continental troops, and the remainder militia of Maryland and Virginia. General Washington, in confiding this difficult and glorious task to this young general, had justly relied on the affection which all the Americans bore him, and had no doubt that his presence would revive their drooping courage.

Since the French expedition to Chesapeak Bay had failed, count de Rochambeau had contrived a plan for

the campaign, the object of which was to deliver Virginia, by sending all the forces that could be spared to this new theatre of war. To insure success, it required nothing less than the co operation of a superior naval force; and it was likewise necessary to retain the principal force of the English assembled at New York by demonstrations of attack, which should hide the secret of this fine plan, and the march of the allied army towards the south.

Count de Grasse, not having sufficient time before the winter season to undertake any thing in the Windward Islands, had resolved to bring back the marquis de Bouillé with his troops to Fort Royal in Martinique, to collect all the French vessels, and to escort them to Cap François in the island of St. Domingo. This admiral had written to the chevalier de la Luzerne, minister of France to the United States, to inform him that during the months of July, August, September, and October, he would be on the coast of New England, to undertake such operations as might be possible, with the considerable force which he had under his command. This despatch, which was brought by the Sagittaire of the line, inspired general Rochambeau with the hopes of realising his projects. He replied to count de Grasse, that it was to the southern provinces of the United States that it was most necessary to carry succors, and to check the progress of the British arms; that, nevertheless, he left him the option of acting offensively either in Chesapeak Bay or at New York; but that in every case the success of the operation depended on our superiority at sea, on a reinforcement of five or six thousand men, and on the quantity of ammunition and provisions which he might bring. General Rochambeau likewise asked for 1,200,000 francs, which were indispensable to pay his army. Lastly, he announced his approaching junction with the American army on the banks of the Hudson. The Concord frigate was sent to Cap François with this important despatch, and was to bring back count de Grasse's answer.

The admiral had not a moment to lose, if he thought to anticipate the arrival of the English squadron, from the Antilles, on the American coast. His instructions enjoined him to send nine ships of the line to escort to Europe two French convoys; with his remaining force to sail along the coast of America, from the latitude of Sa-

vannah to Rhode Island, to intercept, if possible, either English convoys or the squadron of admiral Arbuthnot, and after having united his squadron with that anchored at Newport, the capital of Rhode Island, to concert with generals Rochambeau and Washington all the operations which the season and circumstances might permit them to undertake. Count de Grasse resolved to sail for the Chesapeak. He pushed his preparations, with so much activity, that twelve days after the arrival of the Concord, he had embarked on board his ships three thousand five hundred men, all the military stores, and the 1,200,000 francs, which he had obtained from the merchants at the Havannah, by the intervention of the Spanish commissary. He sent the Concord back to Rhode Island to announce to general Rochambeau his assent to the plan agreed upon, and the point of the coast to which he should direct his course. He sailed on the 4th of August; success depended on his course being kept a secret, to prevent the English from learning it; he passed through the old canal, a dangerous and almost unknown route; cleared the Bahama canal; sailed along the coast of Georgia and the two Carolinas, and appeared off Cape Henry, without Chesapeak Bay, on the very same day the rear-admiral, Samuel Hood, arrived from the Windward Islands off Sandy Hook, with fourteen ships of the line.

Generals Washington and Rochambeau, after the first communication made by the Sagittaire to the chevalier de la Luzerne, had prepared to profit by the co-operation of the naval force under count de Grasse.

On the 8th of May, 1781, commodore count de Barras, who came to succeed M. de Ternay, had arrived at Boston on board the Concord. The news brought by count de Barras and the viscount de Rochambeau, the communication of the naval operations projected for the campaign in the Antilles, served as the basis of the plan which we have just described. But it was to be feared that the forces that might be employed would be insufficient, since the French government had been obliged to renounce the plan of sending the second division of the army of general de Rochambeau. The means of embarkation and naval protection were exhausted, and instead of this important aid it sent a subsidy of 6,000,000 francs.

Count de Rochambeau and Washington met on the 20th

of May at Westerfield, near Hartford, in Connecticut, to confer, according to these data, on the operations which it was most advisable to undertake, whether in the north, against New York, or in Virginia, against the army of lord Cornwallis. General Washington thought that New York should be immediately attacked, by which a more decisive blow would be given to the English power. He knew that general Clinton had much weakened himself by the successive detachments which he had sent to the south. He thought, too, that the bar of Sandy Hook, which ships of the line could not pass without being lightened, was not, however, an insurmountable obstacle. M. de Rochambeau, on the contrary, judged that it was better to operate in Chesapeak Bay, where the French fleet might act more promptly, and with greater facility. The result of the discussion, as we have seen above, was not to exclude either of the two opinions, to unite the two armies on the left bank of the Hudson, to threaten New York, and to be in readiness, while waiting for the arrival of count de Grasse, either seriously to push the attack of that place, or to march towards the Chesapeak, according to circumstances, and according to the more or less effectual support which the French admiral should think it advisable to give to either plan. I have already mentioned the resolutions of M. de Grasse, his movements on leaving St. Domingo, and his arrival in the bay. I must now resume the narrative of the operations of the armies, and say by what stratagems the allied generals deceived the enemy, and rapidly carried their principal force to Virginia to the most distant point, and which seemed to be considered as a secondary object.

After the conference at Westerfield, a despatch of general Washington to general Sullivan, deputy of the congress, and another letter written by a French general, were intercepted by English scouts and delivered to general Clinton. These letters, which related the discussion between the two allied generals, convinced general Clinton that the attack on New York was seriously resolved upon: and, as often happens in time of war, this chance served us better than the ablest spies could have done. While this information deceived the English general, general Washington was much better informed of the intentions of the English. A despatch* of lord St. Germaine to Sir

Henry Clinton was intercepted by an American privateer: it contained the resolution of the cabinet of St. James to carry on the war with activity in the south. This intelligence tended not a little to convince general Washington of the correctness of the views of count de Rochambeau.

The French squadron under the command of count de Barras continued stationed in the port of Rhode Island, where M. de Choisy, brigadier of the forces, an officer distinguished for his great valor, was appointed to protect the anchorage of the squadron with a detachment of only 500 men and 1000 American militia. All our heavy artillery was employed in the batteries, and was to be embarked on board the squadron when count de Barras appeared, to join the fleet of count de Grasse.

On the 18th of June the French corps commenced its march to effect its junction with that of general Washington on the Hudson. The several missions with which I had been intrusted, and especially the establishment of the quarters of the legion of Lauzun in Connecticut, had afforded me an opportunity of reconnoitring the country, and the principal communications between Rhode Island and North River. I received from M. de Beville, quartermaster-general of the army, orders to precede the columns, and to point out the camps and positions which the army was successively to occupy.

The first movement of the French army was accelerated by the news which the commander-in-chief received of the state of affairs in Virginia, and of the situation in which general Washington himself was, on the left bank of the Hudson. As the latter had perceived that general Clinton had dispersed his troops in several camps, and sent large detachments into Jersey, he endeavoured to surprise Fort Washington at the entrance of the island of New York; he gave the execution of this coup-de-main to general Lincoln, who commanded the vanguard, and marched with the remainder of his army to support him. At the same time he asked general Rochambeau to hasten the march of the first brigade of the corps of Lauzun, in order to second him, if he should be seriously engaged with the main body of the English army. General Lincoln met with a strong detachment of the enemy, which had left New York in the morning to forage. He fell back in good order upon the van of general Washington's

columns, which checked the enemy, at the same time that Lauzun's cavalry threatened his flank.

General Clinton made his troops fall back and returned to the island. Our two armies joined in the camp of Philipsburg, three leagues from Kingsbridge, the most advanced post of the enemy in the island of New York. This junction kept general Clinton in awe, detained him at New York, and prevented him from executing the order which he had already received, to embark with a corps of troops and land in the Chesapeak on the coast of Maryland, in order to march through Pennsylvania and Jersey, thus to cut off all communication between the northern and the southern states, and to reduce general Washington to defensive operations on the left bank of the Hudson. To concur in the execution of this new plan, and the better to establish the centre of war in the states bordering on the Chesapeak, lord Cornwallis had instructions to choose and fortify a permanent post near the entrance of the bay.

Constantly harassed by general de la Fayette, who, having received a reinforcement of regular troops of the line, from Pennsylvania, pressed him closely, he abandoned the high country, and successively the plains between the rivers, retrograding towards their mouths, in order to protect the arrival and the anchorage of the English naval force, of which he had received information. The effective force of the two armies united was barely 10,000 men. We were encamped on one line only. The right, formed by the Americans, rested on the Hudson. It was covered by batteries to protect it from the fire of the English frigates, which were able to come up the river in this part, called the Tappan lake. The two French brigades formed the left of the line, leaning on a wood, and covering some small eminences.

My friend Charles de Lameth, the two brothers Berthier, who had lately arrived from France and joined our staff, and myself, established our bivouac near the head-quarters of our general, M. de Béville, in a very pleasant situation, between rocks and under the shade of magnificent tulip-trees. We amused ourselves in ornamenting this little spot, where our cannon were fixed, and in a short time and at a very trifling expense we had a very pretty garden. General Washington, who was taking a survey

of his line, desired to see us. We had been apprised of his visit, and he found on our camp-tables, the plans of the battle of Trenton, with the account of that of West Point, and several others of the principal actions of this war.

Although we were very near the advanced posts of the enemy, nothing happened but a few skirmishes between the patrols. I was very actively engaged in reconnoitering the ground and the several roads beyond the camp. General Rochambeau ordered me to push my reconnoissances as far as I could, even within sight of the first redoubts of the enemy at the point of the island. He confided to me a detachment of lancers of the legion of Lauzun, at the head of which was the sub-lieutenant Killemaine, who afterwards attained the rank of general of division, and distinguished himself as one of our best cavalry officers. I was indebted to his energy and judgment for fulfilling to the satisfaction of the general-in-chief the task which he had assigned me. After having made some small posts of Hessian chasseurs fall back, we arrived within musket-shot of the works, and met at this point with a detachment of American light infantry, which had in like manner explored the ground on our right. The object of these reconnoissances was to prepare that which the commander-in-chief intended to make a few days afterwards with a large detachment, in order to attract the attention of general Clinton, and leave him no doubt of the intention of the allied generals.

Five thousand troops of the two nations, with two batteries of field artillery, were set in motion about midnight, under the command of generals Chastellux and Lincoln. The heads of the column arrived at day-break within sight of the English and Hessian advanced posts. All the ground between the arm of the sea which separates the continent from Long Island and North River to the east in the whole extent of the island of New York, this space, or rather this point of the continent, about three leagues in its mean breadth, was soon cleared of the enemy's posts, most of them consisting of American loyalists, who were scattered over it and made but a slight resistance. The hussars of Lauzun and the dragoons belonging to the escort of the generals-in-chief, who were joined by their

aid-de-camps, charged these fugitives. All who could not embark to return to the island were taken or killed.

The generals with their staff passed slowly over all the open ground about the fortified points, and approached them as nearly as possible. The cannonade was very brisk, as well from the several works as from the small men-of-war anchored in the channel, and forming a kind of girdle round the island. These serious demonstrations produced the effect which the generals of the allies expected; and though general Clinton had received on the 11th of August a reinforcement of 3,000 troops, which with the garrison of Pensacola raised his force to 12,000 effective men, which made it superior to that which observed him, he did not venture to weaken it in order to reinforce lord Cornwallis. The latter having repulsed the vanguard of general de la Fayette, commanded by general Vame, who had rashly ventured too far in pursuit of the English rear, continued his retreat to Portsmouth on Elizabeth river. Though this post had been secured against a sudden attack, and strongly entrenched, Cornwallis did not think it advisable to shut himself up in it, because it was too eccentric, and did not afford sufficient protection to the men-of-war. He thought it better to ascend York river, and according to his instructions form a permanent establishment at Yorktown and at Gloucester on the two opposite banks, thus covering a good anchorage by cross fire. General la Fayette, continuing to follow and observe him with precaution, took a position at Williamsburg, between James and York rivers, at a distance of one day's march from Yorktown.

Under these circumstances count de Rochambeau received and communicated to general Washington the answer of M. de Grasse, announcing to him his approaching arrival in Chesapeak Bay, and the execution of his arrangements, of which I have spoken above. Having concerted with count de Barras for the union with M. de Grasse, and the conveyance of our heavy artillery, the generals put their troops in motion on the 19th of August, and retrograding three marches, they brought them to King's ferry, where the passage of the Hudson was effected with the greatest rapidity under the protection of the American forces. General Washington left 3,000 men, under the command of general Keats, on the left bank, to

cover West Point and the northern states; he likewise allotted 2,000 militia to reinforce the corps of La Fayette. These measures and the passage of the Hudson were entirely concealed from the enemy. The army descended the right bank as far as Staten Island and beyond Chatham. count Rochambeau ordered the commissary Villemanzy to erect ovens within sight of the enemy's works and almost under their eyes.

Alarmed by these reconnoisances and these several preparations on both banks of the river, general Clinton thought himself threatened with a blockade and regular siege; he did not suspect the real design of the allied generals, who suddenly turning to the right, on the back of the mountains which separate the interior of the state of Jersey from the districts on the sea-coasts, led the army to the Delaware. The waters of this river were happily so low that a ford was practicable near Trenton below the falls. We continued our march to Philadelphia where the troops defiled before the assembled congress. We here learned that admiral Hood had arrived off New York; that he had joined admiral Graves, and was sailing with all speed to Chesapeak Bay; but the enemy's eyes had been opened too late. They had no longer time to get before us if M. de Grasse had really arrived with his twenty-six sail of the line at the time which he had announced to us. We received from Baltimore the welcome news that he had done so. The allied generals hastened the march of the columns. On reaching the Head of Elk, at the bottom of the bay, we there found an officer with despatches from M. de Grasse.

We were still above a hundred leagues from the place where we were to join the corps of M de la Fayette and that of M. de St. Simon, which M. de Grasse had brought from St. Domingo. This space might soon have been passed by sea, but there were scarcely vessels sufficient to embark 2000 men. These were hastily taken to send away the vanguard of the two armies, composed of the grenadiers and chasseurs. All the rest, with the field artillery and the baggage, under the command of the two generals Viomesnil, were to continue the march by land, and turning the bay, to Baltimore and Annapolis, whither count de Grasse was to send all the boats that he could spare. General Washington and count de Rochambeau

went first with a light escort, and making forced marches of sixty miles a day, they arrived on the 14th at Williamsburg. They there found the divisions of St. Simon and La Fayette, which had then joined, and had taken a strong position, while lord Cornwallis was intrenching himself at Gloucester and York.

The squadron of admiral Graves had appeared on the 5th of September off Chesapeak Bay. Count de Grasse, though he had already detached 1500 sailors to assist in landing the troops of M. St. Simon in James River, did not hesitate to cut his cables and go to meet the English fleet with twenty-four ships of the line. The English admiral got to the windward; the Vanguard, commanded by M. de Bougainville, overtook the enemy, who was very roughly handled. Count de Grasse pursued him to a distance, and on re-entering the bay found the squadron of M. de Baras, who had profited by the action to reach the anchorage, after having ably convoyed the ten vessels which had our heavy artillery on board. This admiral had chased and taken, at the entrance of the bay, two English frigates, and some small vessels, which, with the transports brought from Rhode Island, were immediately sent to Annapolis.

Meantime the main body of the army was still retained on the left bank of the Susquehannah by the difficulty and scantiness of the means to pass that river, at its mouth, at the bottom of the bay. Some ferry-boats and the remainder of the boats which we had been able to collect could hardly suffice to convey the troops, by slow degrees, from one bank to the other. I was particularly ordered to direct this passage. Being informed by some country people that this broad river was fordable in the fine season a little below the falls, twenty miles above its mouth, I repaired to the spot with guides, by very difficult roads. I sounded the ford with great precaution across broken rocks and the eddies in the torrent to the breadth of between six and seven hundred toises. The bottom was every where composed of loose boulders, and the depth of the water from three to four feet. I did not hesitate to inform the generals of this prompt though rather hazardous means of sending over the artillery, the horses, and all our *impediments*. I was so fortunate as to succeed with little loss; the most serious inconvenience was the immersion of our

ammunition, but it could easily be repaired, since we were certain that we should have no farther occasion to make use of our field artillery.

After passing the Susquehannah we met with no obstacles till we reached Annapolis, where the troops and the artillery were landed. The equipages which could not be embarked, and everything connected with the administration, proceeded by land and by a circuitous route to reach Williamsburg. We landed at Jamestown, and all the army was united in the environs of Williamsburg on the 26th and 27th of September, 1781. On the very next day the generals advanced to Yorktown to invest it.

In tracing the events of this glorious campaign, I cannot do better than quote, word for word, the account of the siege of York, from the Memoirs of the Count de Rochambeau.

"On the 28th of September we left Williamsburg at day-break and advanced to York. I began with the French corps to invest it from York river to the marsh, near the house of colonel Nelson, taking advantage of the woods, the rideaux, and the marshy creeks, so as to confine the enemy to within pistol-shot of their works. The three French brigades were encamped very near, but covered by the ground from the enemy's cannon. Viomesnil commanded the grenadiers and chasseurs of the vanguard, and our investing was effected without the loss of a single man.* The same day general Washington, at the head of the American corps, was obliged to double behind us, and to stop on the marshes, all the bridges over which were broken down. He employed the rest of the

* "Whether lord Cornwallis did not expect so prompt a movement, or whether he thought it useless to push his posts beyond the redoubts which formed his entrenched camp, our vanguard met with no obstacle, the woods favoring our approach. This successive advance of the columns to occupy the ground, which was uneven and intersected by hedges, was made with the greatest celerity. The chevalier Charles de Lameth and myself had been ordered to head the grenadiers directed against the strong redoubt, called *Pigeon's Quarter*. The guide whom we had taken assured us that we were within half a musket-shot of it, and yet we could descry nothing through the woods. The enemy made no movement and did not fire a shot, yet the post was the head and the key of his position. We expected some brisk partial combats, because the ground was very well calculated for this kind of defence. The good arrangements of our general, and the ability with which they were executed, obtained us this first success, which inspired the troops with much confidence."

day and the night in repairing them. On the 29th the American army passed the marsh on which its left was posted, and its right on York river. The investing of the place was complete, and as close as possible. The infantry of Lauzun having landed, marched under its colonel to join its cavalry, which I had sent by way of Tarre on the road to Gloucester, under the command of brigadier-general Voneden, who commanded a corps of American militia. All the legion was united there on the 28th, the day on which York was invested.

"In the night of the 29th, the enemy fearing a coup-de-main in the very extensive position in which they had fortified, resolved to abandon the entrenched camp on Pigeon's Hill,* and confine themselves to the circuit of the place. We employed the 30th in lodging ourselves in the works abandoned by the enemy, which enabled us to enclose them in a narrower circle, and gave us the greatest advantages.

"We learned at this time that Arnold had been sent about the end of August to make a predatory incursion to New London in Connecticut, in which he succeeded but too completely; for, after having put to the sword the brave Colonel Ledger, who defended the fort with a garrison of militia, he burnt the town with part of the merchantmen in the harbor. But this distant division had no effect upon our operations; at the same time we had news of the arrival of admiral Digby at New York, with three ships of the line and a corps of troops on board, and Prince William Henry, one of the sons of the King of England, who had been sent by the court to resume his possession of the government of Virginia. We knew that this reinforcement by land and sea enabled general Clinton to embark part of his army on board the English fleet, composed of twenty-six ships of the line, including some of fifty guns, and accompanied by some fireships. We further learned that great exertions were making at New York for this attempt to relieve Cornwallis, which, in the extremity to which he was reduced, could hardly fail to be too late.

* The enemy were too far from these outworks, which were too extensive. They confined themselves to the defence of the strong redoubts between the two ravines which enclosed the position.—M. D.

"On the 30th we had sent M. de Choisy to M. de Grasse to ask of him a detachment of the crews of his ships to reinforce M. de Lauzun in the county of Gloucester. M. de Grasse gave him eight hundred men. On the 3d of October M. de Choisy went forward to invest Gloucester and take up a nearer position. Tarleton was on the spot with 400 cavalry and 200 infantry to forage. The legion of Lauzun, supported by a corps of American militia, attacked this detachment so impetuously that it broke it and obliged it to return into the place, with some loss. M. de Choisy, after this action, pushed his advanced posts within a mile of Gloucester.

"The trenches were opened in the two attacks above and below York River, in the night of the 6th of October. That on the right was six or seven hundred toises in extent, and was flanked by four redoubts. It was made without any loss, because we began the work with that on the left, which, though it was only a false attack, attracted all the attention of the enemy. The strength of the English army which was invested, the character of the general who commanded it, obliged us to conduct all these attacks with great order and precaution. This is the proper place to give due praise to MM. Portail and de Querenet, who conducted this siege at the head of the engineers, and to M. d'Aboville and to general Knox commanding the artillery of the two nations. The American army took charge of the right of the trenches, the French of the centre and of the left.

"I must do the Americans the justice to say, that they behaved with a degree of zeal, courage, and emulation, which never left them behind in all that they had undertaken, though they were unacquainted with the operations of a siege.

"We set fire by our batteries to one of the enemy's men-of-war and to three transports, which had cast anchor, with the intention of taking our attacks in the rear.

"In the night of the 14th the trenches having been relieved by the regiments of Gatinais and Royal-Deux-Ponts, under the command of baron Viomesnil, we resolved on the attack of the two redoubts on the enemy's left. General Washington appointed la Fayette to that on the right, and I appointed M. de Viomesnil to that on the left with

the French.* Four hundred grenadiers debouched at the head of this attack, under the command of count William de Deux-Ponts and of M. de l'Estrapade, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Gatinais. MM. de Viomesnil and la Fayette made so impetuous an attack that the redoubts were carried, sword in hand, at the same moment. The greater part of the men in them were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. A lodgment was made by joining these redoubts by a communication to the right of our second parallel, the ground on which they stood affording means of erecting new batteries which completed the blockade of the army of Cornwallis, and threw balls à ricochet into the whole of the interior of the place, at a distance which could not fail to do much damage. The count des Deux-Ponts was wounded, and also Charles de Lameth,† the adjutant-general, and M. de Gimat, aid-de-camp to la Fayette.

* The modesty of count Rochambeau has made him pass over a remarkable circumstance in which he gave a noble lesson to baron Viomesnil. The generals, accompanied by some officers of their staff, of whom I was one, had gone to the attack on the left to a battery very well placed on this side of a ravine, which separated it from the redoubt which it was intended to carry. Baron de Viomesnil manifested much impatience; he maintained that the attack was uselessly delayed; that our fire appeared to have silenced that of the enemy, and that there was no time to be lost. "You are mistaken," said M. de Rochambeau; "but by reconnoitering the work more closely it may be ascertained." He ordered the fire to cease, forbade us to follow, and permitted only his son, viscount de Rochambeau, to accompany him. He left the trenches, descended slowly into the ravine, taking a circuitous path; and then ascending the opposite escarpment, approached the redoubt, up to the abattis which surrounded it. After having carefully observed it, he returned to the battery, the enemy not having interrupted him by a single shot. "Well," said he, "the abattis and the pallisades are still entire We must redouble our fire to break them and to level the parapet. To-morrow we shall see if the pear is ripe."—M. D.

† The adjutants-general and other staff-officers did duty in the trenches by turns. I had just been relieved by chevalier de Lameth. He marched at the head of the column, leading the sappers, who cleared away the abattis and cut down the pallisades. He was the first who mounted the parapet of the redoubt, and received point blank the first discharge of the Hessian infantry which occupied it. Balls passed through both his knees, and he fell into the ditch. As soon as I was informed of his wound, I hastened to my friend, who was conveyed to the field-hospital. The surgeons had just declared that his life could not be saved without the amputation of both thighs. The head surgeon, M. Robillard, rather than reduce a young officer who gave such great hopes to such a deplorable state, refused to perform the operation, and ventured to trust to nature for the cure of such dangerous wounds. The happy result fulfilled his expectations and our hopes.—M. D.

"I must here make mention of a circumstance which characterises the courage of the French grenadiers. The grenadiers of the regiment of Gatinais, which had been formed out of that of Auvergne, were to lead the attack. The moment it was decided, I said to them, 'My friends, if I should want you this night, I hope you have not forgotten that we have served together in that brave regiment of Auvergne "*Sans Tache*," an honorable name which it has deserved ever since its creation.' They answered, that if I would promise to have their name restored to them, they would suffer themselves to be killed even to the last man. They kept their words, charged like lions, and lost one-third of their number. M. de Sireuil, captain of the chasseurs, was wounded, and died universally regretted. The king, on the report which I made him of this affair, signed the ordinance which restored to this regiment the name of *Royale Auvergne.*

"In the night of the 15th the enemy made a sally with 800 chosen men. He met with resistance at all our redoubts, and took possession of a battery of the second parallel, where he spiked four guns. The chevalier de Chastellux marched against the enemy with his reserve, and repulsed this sally. The four guns, being badly spiked, were rendered serviceable six hours afterwards by the care of general d'Aboville, commander of our artillery. The marquis de St. Simon was wounded in the trenches on the following day, and not wishing to be relieved, finished his twenty-four hours of duty.

"At last, on the 17th, the enemy commenced a parley, and the capitulation was signed on the 19th of October, by which lord Cornwallis and his army were made prisoners of war. The Americans and French took possesssion at noon of two bastions. The garrison defiled at two o'clock between the two armies, with drums beating, carrying their arms, which they afterwards piled with twenty pair of colors. Lord Cornwallis being ill, general O'Hara defiled at the head of the garrison. When he came up he presented his sword to me.* I pointed to

* I had orders to go and meet the troops of the garrison, and to direct the columns. I placed myself at general O'Hara's left hand. As we approached the trenches, he asked me where general Rochambeau was. "On our left," I said, "at the head of the French line." The English general urged his horse forward to present his sword to the French general. Guessing his

general Washington, who was opposite me at the head of the American army, and told him that the French army being auxiliaries on the continent, it was the American general who was to signify his orders to him.

"Colonel Laurens, viscount Novilles, and M. de Granchain had been appointed by their respective generals to draw up the articles of this capitulation, together with some superior officers of the army of lord Cornwallis. It was signed by general Washington, the Count de Rochambeau, and M. de Barras, as representative of count de Grasse, and immediately carried into execution. We found 8,000 prisoners, of whom 7,000 were regular troops, and 1,000 sailors; 214 pieces of cannon, of which 75 were of brass, and 22 pair of colors. Among the prisoners there were at least 2,000 in the hospitals, of whom the greatest care was taken. All the rest were sent into the interior of the country.

"I must do justice on this occasion to the zeal and activity of Messrs. Blanchard, the commissary-general, and Coste and Robillard, the medical men, who, by the most assiduous attention to the sick and wounded, both our own and the prisoners, rendered the most valuable services in our militay hospitals in the course of these three campaigns.

"I sent the duke de Lauzun and count William des Deux-Ponts in two different frigates to carry the capitulation to France, and captain Tilman, aid-de-camp to general Washington, was sent by him to the congress."

General Clinton, who, though he had at New York a superior force at his command to that which the allied generals could have opposed to him, had suffered himself

intention, I galloped on to place myself between him and M. de Rochambeau, who at that moment made me a sign, pointing to general Washington, who was opposite to him, at the head of the American army: "You are mistaken," said I to general O'Hara, "the commander-in-chief of our army is on the right." I accompanied him, and the moment that he presented his sword, general Washington, anticipating him, said, "*Never from such a good hand.*"

The garrison defiled between the two lines, beyond which I caused them to form in order of battle, and pile their arms. The English officers manifested the most bitter mortification, and I remember that colonel Abercrombie, of the English guards, (the same who afterwards perished in Egypt on the field of battle, where he had just triumphed,) at the moment when his troops laid down their arms, withdrew rapidly, covering his face and biting his sword.—M. D.

to be deceived by their manœuvres, made the greatest exertions to succor lord Cornwallis. He embarked with a corps of troops on board the united English fleet, which appeared off Cape Henry, to the number of twenty-five ships of the line, on the 27th of October, immediately after the surrender of York. Being informed of this event, he retired without making any attempt, contenting himself with throwing a reinforcement of three regiments into Charleston.

The appearance of the Engligh fleet gave M. de Rochambeau reason to suspect that the English might attempt to land, without the bay, between Cape Henry and the great marsh called Dismal Swamp, to occupy Portsmouth on Elizabeth river. This post, in which Arnold had at first taken refuge, had been well intrenched, and lord Cornwallis, who had occupied it before he had preferred York Town, had extended and perfected its fortifications. I was sent in great haste with a battalion of American militia, to have those works razed. I found them in very good condition. The position was well chosen; the redoubts and the salient angles connected by deep trenches, were most carefully covered with fascines. The works were strengthened with stakes, palisaded and surrounded with strong abattis. A high west wind having arisen, I took advantage of it to have them set on fire, which greatly facilitated my operations. In short, it was not till after a week's labor that I was able to complete their destruction, with my detachment and all the workmen I had been able to collect.

The forces of the allies were distributed according to their several destinations in the following manner: The count de Grasse, having taken on board the corps of troops under the command of M. St. Simon, sailed on the 4th of November to return to the Antilles. He left in the Chesapeak only a small light squadron commanded by M. de la Villebrune.

General Washington led the main body of the American army to North River. He detached only general La Fayette, with the troops of Maryland and Pennsylvania, to go and reinforce the army of general Green in the southern states. At this time baron de Viomesnil obtained permission from count de Rochambeau to pass

some months in France, and embarked on board the frigate which count de Grasse sent home.

The French army went into winter quarters in the country between James and York rivers, Hampton, York, Williamsburg, Gloucester, &c., an intermediate position between the northern and southern states, from which M. de Rochambeau was able to send succors to the provinces which might be the most seriously threatened by the enemy.

We had struck the decisive blow, and the war might almost be considered as ended, since the English had nothing left in North America except Charleston, Savannah in Georgia, and the islands of New York.

While M. de la Fayette was hastening by forced marches to join the army of general Green, the latter fearing that the English would be enabled, by the reinforcement received at Charleston and that of 4,000 men expected there from Ireland, to resume offensive operations, earnestly solicited count Rochambeau to send him a strong detachment of French troops. But the French general, appreciating the false reports spread by the enemy, made no change in his position He left his infantry to repose in their quarters, and contented himself with sending the legion of Lauzun, under the command of M. de Choisy, to the frontiers of North Carolina. He, however, instructed me to push reconnoisances much further, and to ascertain what roads would be practicable for the march of troops, in case circumstances which he did not foresee should make it necessary to send part of his army thither.

Things remained in this state, and no remarkable event occurred while the army was in winter quarters. I was seldom at the head quarters at Williamsburg, whither I went only to give an account of my mission, and to attend to my friend Charles de Lameth who suffered very severely from his wounds. He returned to France as soon as he was able to bear the voyage.

The events of the war in North America in 1781 had attracted the whole attention of the belligerent powers. A kind of armistice had succeeded, and all their efforts were directed to another theatre. We learnt by accounts from France that a great convoy and reinforcements for the Antilles were preparing in order to enable the count de Grasse to contend with the English fleet under the

command of admiral Rodney. The final operations in which the auxiliary army of count de Rochambeau might have assisted to complete the expulsion of the English from the continent were deferred, and depended doubtless on the success of those of Count de Grasse; but fortune changed. The grand convoy, escorted by M. de Guichen, was dispersed by a storm. The English collected the whole of their naval force in the Windward Islands, and count de Grasse, notwithstanding the inferiority of the French fleet, ventured to put to sea to convoy the troops of M. de Bouillé, which were to join the Spanish troops at St. Domingo under the command of Don Galvez.

Admiral Rodney manœuvring to separate the French fleet from its convoy, could only reach the Zélé of the line, the worst sailer of the rear-guard. Count de Grasse, in order to save it, engaged his vanguard under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil. The French had the advantage in this first battle on the 9th of April, 1782; but admiral Rodney, continuing to follow our fleet, and having got to windward, engaged on the 12th in a general battle, the issue of which was fatal to the French fleet. The *Ville de Paris*, the admiral's ship, and six others, were disabled and taken after a most glorious resistance. When we were made acquainted with this event by the reports of the enemy, the congress had just received from general Carleton (who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of the English army) a proposal from the English government to recognise, without restriction the independence of the United States on condition of their renouncing the alliance of France. The congress refused to receive the negotiator who was entrusted with this mission. The States declared unanimously that they would consider every proposal tending to make a separate peace as high treason. These overtures, and the armistice proposed by the governor of Charleston and refused by general Green, afforded sufficient proof that the English, notwithstanding their late success in the Antilles, at length renounced the project of subduing their colonies. The Americans were ardently desirous of peace, but they manifested the greatest firmness, and proved their gratitude to France by their readiness to make further sacrifices in order to obtain peace on terms as honorable to their allies as to themselves. The French government, on its side,

continued to send fresh succors. Two frigates, the *Gloire* and the *Aigle*, commanded by Captain la Touche-Tréville, were despatched from Rochefort on the 15th July, 1782. Baron de Viomesnil, the count de Ségur, the prince de Broglie, the chevalier Alexander de Lameth, the count de Ricci, and several other officers were on board these frigates, which brought money, &c.

After the battle of the 12th of April in which the count de Grasse was taken prisoner, the marquis de Vaudreuil, who had taken the command, received orders to proceed to Boston to repair his squadron. On the notice which he had given of it to M. de la Luzer ., the French minister, the count de Rochambeau perceived the necessity of bringing his army nearer to the northern provinces. The excessive heat and the insalubrious climate of Virginia had caused many diseases. Besides, the preparations which the English were making to evacuate Charleston, rendered it superfluous for the French troops to remain any longer in order to protect the southern states. These considerations made the French genera'-in-chief march to Philadelphia, whither he invited general Washington to come and confer with him on the new state of affairs. The retrograde movement of the army by land was performed slowly, the soldiers marching by night and reposing by day. The general-in-chief had gone before, leaving to the chevalier de Chastellux and to the count de Viomesnil the care of conducting the troops with the wise precautions which he had prescribed. They were allowed some days to refresh themselves at Baltimore, from which city they marched in battalions to avoid confusion at the passage of the Susquehanna, which I was again ordered to direct.

The two generals-in-chief, who met at Philadelphia, had just learned that Savannah was evacuated, and that part of the garrison had been left at Charleston, and the remainder conveyed to New York. The marquis de Vaudreuil informed count de Rochambeau that he was on his way to New York with twelve ships of the line, and that he was closely followed by the English fleet under the command of admiral Pigot, who had succeeded admiral Rodney. In consequence of this information, it was agreed that the American and French armies should resume their former positions on the Hudson, to watch the garrison of New York.

The English government, after the change in the ministry which placed Mr. Pitt at the head of affairs, had resolved on the evacuation of New York and Charleston, the garrisons of which were to be conveyed to the Antilles. General Carleton, who was preparing to execute this operation, spread the news of the acknowledgment of the independence of America by the two houses of parliament, and again endeavored, but as fruitlessly as the first time, to negotiate with the congress. Count de Rochambeau hastened the march of the army; we passed through Philadelphia, and then the Delaware and Jersey. The cavalry of the legion of Lauzun, commanded by count Robert de Dillon, covered our right flank at the back of the eminences at the foot of which we marched. The general-in-chief having learned that an English fleet had been discovered at the mouth of the Hudson, ordered me to go and reconnoitre it within as short a distance as possible, without risking myself among the enemy's posts distributed on the right bank of the river on this side of Staten Island. A very intelligent American officer served me as a guide. Taking with him three well mounted dragoons who were perfectly acquainted with the country, he conducted me to the point of the Hook where there is a sand-bank which cannot be passed by men-of-war unless they are lightened of part of their guns. We stopped at the highest hill, from the top of which, lying down so that we could not be perceived, we easily counted the twenty-six ships of the line composing the fleet of admiral Pigot at anchor outside the bar; and we observed their manœuvres to pass it and ascend the river. Our return was equally fortunate, and I was indebted to my brother officer for the advantage of having executed this delicate mission to the satisfaction of the general.

We passed the Hudson, as at the beginning of the preceding campaign, at King's ferry, where the junction of the two armies was effected. Ours defiled between the ranks of the American army, which lined the way. It was a real family fête. "The American army remained encamped at King's ferry, having a vanguard at the mouth of the Croton, which falls into the Hudson. The French corps encamped on the mountains beyond Crampont. The corps of Lauzun was in advance on the ridge which borders the Croton. In this position the two

armies were able to repair on the instant either to New York or to Staten Island."

Baron de Viomesnil, who had been lately promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and all the officers who had left France with him, joined us at the camp at Crampont. They had had a very bad voyage. M. de la Touche, who had orders to make the greatest haste, had to blame himself for delays which he might have avoided. The meeting with an English ship off the Bermudas engaged him in a dangerous action, which he at first endeavored to avoid according to his instructions, but in which he was obliged to support La Gloire frigate. The latter being surprised in the middle of the night, and unable to join the Aigle without placing herself in too unfavorable a position, engaged alone for more than an hour, and within pistol-shot, this 74 gun ship. It was the Hector, which was taken in the action with count de Grasse. While the brave captain Vallongue supported with rare intrepidity so unequal a contest, captain La Touche came to his assistance; he had the good fortune to disable the helm of the English ship, which had already suffered severely, and if she had not succeeded in disengaging herself, would have been taken by boarding.

These two frigates arrived on the 11th of September at the mouth of the Delaware, where they captured an English corvette; but contrary and violent winds, as well as the appearance of the squadron commanded by admiral Elphistone, forced M. de la Touche to entangle himself among the shoals before he could get pilots on board. Being hotly pursued by the enemy and unable to direct his course up the Delaware, except by means of the sounding line, he missed the channel, and the pilots on board the Aigle, which had already touched the ground, declared that the French ships could not be saved unless they put back to the mouth of the river to take the right channel. The position of the enemy did not permit this manœuvre. Admiral Elphistone had made his ships of the line cast anchor and sent the frigates to continue the chase. The French had no resource left but to endeavor to clear the obstacle. The corvette and the Gloire succeeded after much exertion; the Aigle run aground. The officers, who were passengers, and the treasure, were landed in boats. M. de la Touche caused the masts to be

cut down, and being able to return but weakly, and only for the honor of his flag, the fire of the English frigates, he was obliged to strike his colors. The English landed some troops to seize the treasure; but thanks to the foresight of baron de Viomesnil and the activity of the officers who accompanied him, they missed this prize.

We gladly received our shipwrecked comrades, who brought us news from France, our relations, and friends. We on our part had much to tell them, of what we had been doing, of the adopted country, to which they came to associate themselves as we had done, by companionship in arms. I had one of the best portions in this exchange. The chevalier Alexander de Lameth, who came to take the place of his brother Charles as adjutant-general, brought me the most affecting testimonies of his attachment. I gained a new friend, and I was likewise well received by his companions, among others by the brave and able count de Ségur, who delivered to general Rochambeau the government despatches, which had been given to him by his father, marshal de Ségur, the minister of war.

The cabinet of Versailles had foreseen that the English, perceiving that Jamaica was seriously threatened, would abandon North America and would cease fruitlessly to consume there, the land forces, which it was imperatively necessary for them to employ in the defence of the most valuable of their possessions in the Antilles. On this supposition the order sent to M. de Rochambeau enjoined him to cause the French troops to embark on board the squadron of the marquis de Vaudreuil, which should convey them to Cap Français in the island of St. Domingo, where they were to join the Spanish troops, under the command of lieut.-general Don Galvez.

The certainty of the evacuation of Charleston, and the reports of the spies respecting the preparations for that of New York, soon left general Rochambeau no doubt respecting the execution of the orders which he had received. The squadron of M. de Vaudreuil was to be re-victualled and ready to receive either on board the men-of-war or transports, the French infantry and artillery, by the end of November. Generals the baron de Viomesnil and the count his brother had the command of the troops, which were put in march to Boston. The legion of Lauzun, which was then at Baltimore, with the heavy

artillery, remained under the command of general Washington.

The count de Rochambeau, who had so well accomplished his task, took leave of his brave army, separated with regret from his noble companion in arms, general Washington, and set out loaded with congratulations and testimonies of gratitude, to embark on board the frigate which was waiting for him in Chesapeake Bay, to take him back to France. He was accompanied by Major-general the chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Béville, the quarter-master-general, and the principal officers of his staff. Being then the senior-quarter-master, I acted as chief of the staff of the corps, under the command of baron de Viomesnil. The chevalier Alexander de Lameth and M. Dubourg, assistant quarter-masters-general, and the two brothers Berthier, adjuncts to the general staff, were employed with me. I went to Boston, to regulate, in concert with the chevalier de l'Eguille, the preparations for the embarkation of the troops. The business of repairing and re-victualling the squadron, which was much damaged, had extended beyond the time that the marquis de Vaudreuil had first fixed, so that baron de Viomesnil had to stop the troops at Providence, where they were lodged in barracks, and remained till the 1st of December. They were then sent successively to Boston. Unforeseen accidents caused further delays, of which I and my companions took advantage to visit the first fields of battle, of the war which we had just concluded. Boston was the cradle of the American revolution. We had had the advantage of still finding there some of the most celebrated actors in these memorable scenes—President Hancock, his friend Dr. Cooper, Mr. John Adams, and some others, from whose interesting conversation we derived more accurate ideas of the principal events. Dr. Cooper one day spoke to us of the first declaration of independence; we listened to him with the most eager attention. When praising our enthusiasm in the cause of liberty, he said to us, "Take care, take care, young men, lest the triumph of the cause on this virgin soil, should too much inflame your hopes. You will carry away with you the germs of these generous sentiments; but if ever you attempt to propagate them on your native soil, after so many ages of corruption, you will have to surmount far other obstacles. It has cost us

much blood to conquer liberty, but you will have to shed it in torrents before you can establish it in Europe."

How many times since then, during our political storm —during our fatal days, have I called to mind the prophetic warnings of Dr. Cooper; but the inestimable prize which the Americans obtained by their sacrifice was always present to my mind.

The staff and the troops were distributed on board the ships of the line, frigates, store-ships, transports, &c. conformably to the lists which we had presented to the chevalier d'Eguille, and I to the admiral and to the commander-in-chief. I quitted with regret this adopted country, to which I hoped to return after the campaign to fulfil a special mission, for which I had been named, the count de la Luzerne, minister of France, having designed me to be one of the commissioners to fix the boundaries after the conclusion of peace. I embarked in the Triomphant with the baron de Viomesnil, and was received in the most obliging manner by the marquis de Vaudreuil and the officers of his staff.

At length, on the 24th of December the marquis de Vaudreuil left the Boston roads, with ten ships of the line, three of which were 84's and seven 74's, besides three frigates. The Auguste and the Pluton were to sail from Portsmouth twenty-four hours after we left Boston, to join us on St. George's Bank, and the whole squadron was then to double Cape Cod, and go and cruise before Newport, to disengage Le Fantasque. This fine squadron, which was now thoroughly repaired, was commanded by officers who had distinguished themselves during the preceding campaigns. The crews, composed of experienced seamen, were full of ardor, and our brave soldiers, proud of their success in America, were ready for every enterprise, however daring. The squadron made a noble appearance, as it set sail amidst the acclamations and benedictions of the Americans, who loudly cheered the French flag. The wind blew from the west, the sea was magnificent, and the sky serene. We had scarcely set sail, when the wreck of the Magnifique pointed out to us the first shoal. We doubled the islands of Nantucket, through a very narrow channel, and were highly delighted with the variety and extent of the prospects in the midst of this vast archipelago. We soon perceived only the summits

of the hills which crowned that fine basin. The wind veered to the east; it freshened by degrees, and obliged us to lie to. The gale became very stiff; the second night was dreadful. We drifted towards the coast, and were obliged to steer towards French Bay, at the entrance of which there is only a depth of water between the shoals sufficient for 74-gun ships. The pilots assured us that we had not more than two hours to run before the wind, till we should be driven upon them. A gloomy silence prevailed among the crew and the passengers on board the Triomphante. The marquis de Vaudreuil set the example of composure and resignation. About two o'clock in the morning the wind veered to the N.W., and we were soon out of danger. At day-break we saw only four ships of the line which had been able to keep company and follow the admiral's lights; all the rest of the squadron and the transports had been dispersed by the gale. The Iris frigate, commanded by M. de Traversey, which was at a great distance from us, was adorned with various flags to bid us adieu, and steered towards France, conformably to her instructions, to carry them the intelligence of the departure of the expedition. The admiral alone knew the destination of the squadron, but we had no doubt that it was for the Island of St. Domingo. He steered to the S.E. without endeavoring any longer to join among the shoals, the vessels, which must have sailed from Portsmouth and Rhode Island. We met with some further impediments before we left the shores of North America. The second division of the English fleet, under the command of admiral Hood, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, had sailed from New York on the 22d of November, for the Leeward Islands, after having taken on board the remainder of the garrison. Admiral Pigot had preceded him with the first division of the fleet for the Windward Islands. Thus America was delivered, the cause of liberty triumphed, and the theatre of that great naval war was transferred to the Antilles.

In proportion as we approached the southern latitudes, beyond the Bermudas, we met with a milder climate and forgot the severe cold, which had made us fear that we should be detained by the ice in the port of Boston. Our voyage was less fatiguing, and I employed this first leisure moment to arrange my observations on the United States

at the time of the departure of the French army. I addressed them to the chevalier de Chastellux, who, when he took leave to return to France, had asked me to correspond with him. I have transcribed an extract from this correspondence, which contains a faithful picture of the moral and political state of those countries. It may be interesting to compare it with the astonishing progress which has since been made by that immense federative republic.

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"The opinions of those who have seen the United States are as opposite to each other as the winds which dispute the command of the waves. Some, forgetting the time of the foundation of these colonies and their rapid improvement, look upon the Americans as if they were an ancient nation, and seek among them the advantages which are to be found only in an overflowing population. Others judge of the inhabitants as of the soil; they persuade themselves that the Americans are a new people. They complain that they do not find among them that purity of morals which has been so much boasted of, and do not pardon the vices, the moral evil, which would have been scarcely remarked in Europe, and which is so easily perceived in America, only because it is in opposition with a greater mass of good. People find it difficult to follow a just mean. They say that a government is perfect, or that it is very corrupt. The national character forms itself, notwithstanding the similitude of language, of customs, manners, religion, which are common to the Americans and the English. It is even now easy to point out the essential differences between these two nations. Among the first we find more mildness and tolerance, more hospitality, and they are in general more communicative than the English. The latter reproach them with too much levity, a too ardent love of pleasure; they think them degenerated, and charge them with weakness. But the difference of interests, attachment to the new government, the discipline and good spirit of the army, will soon strongly mark the national character. Let us then endeavor to fix our opinion on the spirit and actual disposition of the Americans; this knowledge may enable us to foresee what must be the consequence of this astonishing revolution.

"The Americans are blamed for having suddenly grown

cool after their first successes, and for having been much more deficient in energy than in resources during the last years. The cause of this coolness ought to be looked for in the very principle of the revolution, and not in the national character. The first enthusiasm could not last: the fanaticism of liberty had called an army into existence, which, from its very origin, was supported by success; but these masses, in consequence of this composition, naturally dissolved at the first reverse of fortune. Every species of resource was consumed at once; every cultivator of the soil, having become a soldier, dissipated the fruits of his economy, and returned home exhausted and tired of the war. When want, ambition, or habit do not assist in keeping the men under their standards, it is much to be feared that their enthusiasm will cease the moment that each individual reflects, that he sacrifices to the country more than it can give him in return. It was necessary, then, to substitute a paid and disciplined army for irregular militia. This was assuredly a difficult transition, but the government acquiring daily more firmness, it was requisite to give to the armed force a stable organization and regulate the raising of taxes, and yet to keep all the citizens armed for the common defence.

"You know how general Washington succeeded in forming an army; the men engaged for one campaign mingled at first with the militia or volunteers. The formation of some troops, absolutely mercenary, their revolt, the new regulations, lastly, the military constitution, accepted unanimously by the United States, all these circumstances are distinct degrees which cannot have escaped your observation; and the excellent footing on which we saw the American army at the review at the King's Ferry, before our departure, will not appear to you as the least of the achievments of the hero of America. Yet some have gone so far as to infer from the apparent lukewarmness of the Americans, that the revolution was much less advanced than had been believed, that the king's party was still considerable, that the multitude was hurried away by the leading men, but that the general wish was not for independence. This is a false opinion, which has gained too much credit among some of the French. According to the American constitution and the very principles of the confederation, the decisions of the

general assemblies are necessarily those of the majority of individuals, and the real expression of public opinion. The elections of the county members are free and without bribery. A man may seduce some of his fellow citizens by his eloquence, but he cannot gain their votes by his money. The necessity of leaving home to go and represent their constituents in the general assembly is considered as a disagreeable task; this at least is the most received opinion. Besides, no benefit is derived from this slight distinction, and very little personal influence is acquired by it. We may therefore judge by the temper in the general assembly of one of the states, of the parties which exist in the different counties of the same state. The same county exerts its influence in the election of the members who are to represent the state in the congress; it is therefore certain that the member elected is the most popular man, and that his opinion in public affairs will always be that of the majority of his constituents. It is not true to say that this principle becomes corrupt, as it is more remote from the source. If there were in the congress some members suspected of being of the king's party, it was at the beginning of the revolution, before the constitution was well established, before the separation of England from its colonies was pronounced, the consequences of it felt, and the new interests of the government sufficiently well known for every individual to have already resolved to join his own interests with them. We must not be surprised that the movements of the Tory party have been more evident in these latter times; its hopes were sustained by the success of the English in the southern provinces. It confidently expected that the issue of the war would decide its fortune. The least prejudiced of the Tories flattered themselves that since the king's arms were victorious in one of the richest provinces, he would be able to treat with the Americans on advantageous terms, that property would be respected, and that the oppressed loyalists would regain their rights. The most politic conducted themselves with prudence and attempted to appear indifferent. Lastly, we have seen the final period of the revolution—England reduced to defensive operations, and deliberating on the evacuation of the two places which it still held. From that time the king's party, without union, without strength, and even without

courage, nevertheless embarrassed the government by new difficulties; it fomented jealousies, attacked the principles of the confederation, abated public confidence, impeded the collection of taxes, and endeavored to renew a commercial intercourse with England. The temptation of a separate peace offered to the congress by general Carleton in the name of his government; the moderation which that general affected; the care he took to favor contraband trade, were more fatal to the government than new ravages, and which would have increased the hatred of the English name. The wise measures of the congress and the unanimous resolution of the different states to reject proposals of peace, in which France should not be included, are the best and strongest proof that the spirit of faction no longer prevails in the councils, that the constitution is well consolidated, and that the nation—the new America—has nothing more to fear from the Tories. Yet this party, subdued, reduced to silence, too often unjustly persecuted by Whigs, still exists. It will endeavor to approximate to England; it will studiously preserve the English manners and customs; it will profit by the commercial advantages which the English will give to the Americans; it will cherish an implacable hatred of the French, and will incessantly labor to dissolve our alliance with the United States. It must be our business, then, in order to complete our work and to confirm the separation, to keep up an intimate and continued intercourse with the Americans; to obtain among them the preference for the sale of goods imported—not that this commerce can be extremely advantageous to us—but it is necessary to counterbalance that of the English, and above all to maintain till the next generation, the good opinion which the Americans have conceived of the French nation. The presence of the army of count de Rochambeau in America has destroyed the long-standing prejudice which the English there had kept up against the French character. It was so strong, that at the beginning of the revolution the most ardent minds, and many of those who wished for independence rejected the idea of an alliance with France. It was necessary to persuade the people by leading them to accept assistance which was not avowed, and if the question had been directly proposed, it is uncertain which would have been the choice of the majority, to treat with England or

to make an alliance with France. The marquis de la Fayette had all the honour of forming the first connection between the two countries by his generous devotedness, but we must ascribe to count de Rochambeau the favorable opinion which has been formed of the French in all North America. It is the strict discipline which he maintained in his army, his prudence, his undeviating spirit of justice, his noble and perfect subordination to general Washington, as also the knowledge which he had acquired of the form of government, and his extreme attention not to contradict it by the tone and military execution of our ordinances, which have produced this good effect. This conduct is worthy of the highest praise. It is the fruit of wisdom and of the mature examination of things almost contrary to each other which he had to reconcile. He thus compelled circumstances to yield, and, constantly faithful to his plan, he caused the French name to be respected, even when submitting to the delays, to all the details of the democratic administration, and to the laws most offensive to us, among whom the inequality of conditions cannot be effaced, and even the interest of all does not draw together the individuals of different classes.

"It is certain that the reputation of the French, which it was so important to establish, was independent of the success of our arms, when we acted in Virginia. What I have said of the conduct of the French seems to be contradicted by the private opinion of some of us, for you have often heard them declaim against the Americans; but such is the importance of the conduct of the leader, that the ill behaviour of the subordinates is less striking in proportion as his is more consistent. Add to this the difficulty of the language, and you will see that the imprudent actions of individuals are rarely dangerous. There is something very strange in what is called national prejudice and the supposed impossibility of conforming to new customs and of contracting new habits, which, nevertheless, we do contract as we acquire the knowledge of a language however difficult and different from our own. I believe that nations have different characters, but I do not think that these are the cause, of what we call national hatred, which should rather be attributed to rival interests and to the passions of the governments. Remove this cause, and nations have no longer hostile principles. They may be

united in the same manner as metals. By observing attentively the surprising progress of our acquaintance with the Americans, I have become convinced that the most dissimilar characters may agree, if we carefully avoid presenting them to each other in the points in which they most differ. This policy requires a very rare cast of mind, but it is solely to the want of the necessary qualities in the chief that failure must be ascribed. Let us also beware of attributing to this policy all the honor of our success. The good-will, the cordiality, the generous reception which the principal inhabitants of America gave us, contributed in a great degree to this happy result.

"Such is the natural tendency, I should rather say the vocation of men, for a popular government, that among the confederate republics of America, it was in those where democracy was the most perfect, and where the manners of the people pleased us most, that we found the greatest facility in forming connections. This reflection, reminding me of the differences that exist between the inhabitants, leads me to examine their sentiments with respect to the general constitution. I shall speak of the United States in particular, only in a political point of view, and to point out to you what is the disposition of the minds of the people, with regard to the union and the duration of this immense republic.

"The state of Massachusetts was the cradle of the revolution. The fermentation of parties produced there at the very beginning the most decided champions of republican principles; but the spirit of faction and of intolerance which kindled the first sparks is still felt there. One of those celebrated men who acted the principal parts, said to me one day, 'Here in my retreat, like another Catiline, the collar around my neck, in danger of the severest punishment, I laid down the plan of the revolt; I endeavored to persuade my timid accomplices, that a most glorious revolution might be the result of our efforts, but I scarcely dared to hope it; and what I have seen realised, appears to me like a dream. You know by what obscure intrigues, by what unfaithfulness to the mother country, a powerful party was formed; how the minds of the people were irritated, before we were able to provoke the insurrection. The pride, the tyranny, the infatuation, and the gross faults of the English ministry, soon ennobled the

cause: the other provinces really armed in the cause of liberty for the defence of their oppressed fellowcitizens. The whole nation has broken the yoke and has given itself laws, by the inalienable rights of man—a sublime act, an august monument of human dignity: from that moment every thing changed its appearance and its name. There were no longer rebels, but citizens relieved from a tyrannical yoke. They chose the most prudent and enlightened among themselves for magistrates; from this factious mass, whom the English ministry fancied that it could speedily put down, there suddenly arose able legislators, skilful lawyers, illustrious warriors; liberty wept over the tomb of the brave and interesting Montgomery.'

"We still see at Boston the traces of the first disorders; the earliest actors, Hancock, Adams, Cooper, Baudouin, still survive. The state of Massachusetts, faithful to the general constitution, punctually paying the taxes imposed by the congress, conducts its own government with equity and energy, and possesses the best economical regulations. The constitution, which was not completed till 1780, is perhaps the code of laws which does the most honor to mankind. We cannot read without emotion, and without feeling the mind elevated, the preamble to this act, the declaration of the rights common to all the members of the republic, and on which the several articles of the constitution are founded. The last words are, '*to the end it may be a government of laws, and not of men.*'

"The state of Massachusetts, which is already very populous, will become more so. Grants of land are made by the state, and always in proportion to the number of hands that the new settlers can employ in clearing them; if its political interests are well understood, the great number of sailors which it can furnish, the many ports upon its coasts, the fisheries, the advantageous position of Boston in time of war, on account of the anchorage, the exchange of timber for building, will ensure a continual and advantageous intercourse with the other parts of the continent. As it was in Boston that the most ardent enemies of the English government arose, it was there too that the Tory party exerted itself the most. The commotions were short, but violent; no mercy was shown to the vanquished; numbers of families were compelled to expatriate themselves, in order to avoid persecution. This party,

which cannot arise from its ashes, keeps up family enmities, continually calls to mind the criminal actions on both sides, which stained the commencement of the revolution. Hence dissensions arise which time alone can terminate, and which till then will render the elections very stormy.

"The little State of Rhode Island, animated by the example of the Bostonians, and encouraged by their success, displayed much energy from the beginning. The enemy took possession of the capital, ravaged the coasts, intercepted its maritime communications and ruined its commerce. Several weak citizens, attracted by the advantages of prohibited commerce, abandoned the cause. The Quakers, indifferent in appearance, but English in their hearts, inclined to the king's party. The state, however, was neither subdued by the arms of the enemy nor shaken by these intestine quarrels: in the end the Whigs persecuted and expelled, or reduced to silence the Tories who were among them. In consequence of the small extent of this state, all the inhabitants are acquainted with each other. The dense population, the love of agriculture, the active navigation, the continual jobbing, have excited among them the spirit of association, and we observe among them, more than in any other state, a propensity to political controversy. In fine, the new republicans have no where been more haughty, more intolerant, more ardent in the defence of the national cause; and though they have been reduced by great losses to sacrifice every thing, they are not less jealous in supporting the authority of the Congress, than in vigorously defending the privileges of their own assemblies; thus but a short time ago, they formally refused to pay a duty of five per cent. on imported goods, to which the other states had already submitted.

"I shall say but little of Connecticut, the constitution of which is solidly established; it is a model of pure and well-regulated democracy, in which there are none of the inconveniences which the celebrated author of the Spirit of Laws, the oracle, and advocate of liberty, could not help foreseeing in the establishment of a popular government. The perfection of this organisation must be ascribed to the general equality of fortune, and to the circumstance that the several towns on the river Connecticut, as well as those on the coasts of the Sound, are almost equally ad-

vantageously situated, which has not permitted the formation of those great establishments which are prejudicial to the progress of colonies, and in which the best principles are corrupted. If there is a nation in which the happiness of the individual is secured by the form of government, it is doubtless Connecticut. Religious toleration has extinguished the spirit of sectarianism and proselytism. The inhabitants depend only on the laws which they have made for themselves, and the tranquillity which they enjoy under their excellent constitution, does not indicate any circumstance that might impair its purity. The coasts of the Sound having been continually open to the enemy, and often the object of their fatal expeditions, it was impossible to prevent the communication with Long Island, to which great quantities of cattle and of flour were conveyed. This contraband trade would lead to a supposition that the inhabitants of the coast were Tories, and entirely devoted to the English; but they were constrained by their situation. If they did not assist the enemy, they were exposed to continual ravages. This state has nevertheless displayed the firmest attachment to the general cause. It contributed more than any other to the support of the army, and general Washington always found in it, new resources in the most critical moments.

"The states of New York, those of Pennsylvania and Delaware, are deeply interested in preserving the union of the thirteen states and the authority of the congress; we may even say that it would be to their political advantage to increase it, because the cities of New York and Philadelphia are the most considerable on the continent, and invite the commerce of all the other parts. These states, forming the centre of the federative republic, have great influence over the general government, and as they would lose all the advantages of their position, if the confederation were to be dissolved, they have as much at heart the maintenance of the power of the congress as their independence in the management of their own affairs.

"The states of Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas, are much attached to their own constitutions, which, in some important points, differ considerably from those of the northern states, but this difference will never lead them to isolate themselves, any more than that of the climate or of the nature of their agricultural or commercial establish-

ments. These states have been sensible, especially during the last two campaigns, how much need they have of the support of the northern states. There is, therefore, ground to believe that the territorial extension of the United States, far from weakening the federal bond, will daily give it more strength. On this vast extent of coast, each state bounded by great rivers, at the mouths of which there are good ports, has, as it were, a particular navigation, a special commerce; and each of them has need of a protection common to them all. As the increase of the population, of the natural produce of the soil, and of commerce, can make no change in a state of things which results from their respective situations, there is no doubt that the federal constitution will be consolidated by the same causes, which every where else might threaten its duration.

"Persons who are prejudiced against a republican form of government, the blind partisans of monarchy, will not assent to this conclusion; they already prophecy the dismemberment of the United States at no distant period, and fancy they see thrones erected on both sides of the Ohio. I am far from participating in this opinion, which originates in our habits and our prejudices. I believe, on the contrary, that the principles of the governments which will be successively formed in the new continent, will necessarily be opposed to those of Europe. Proud of their institutions, which are the most just and the most reasonable that human wisdom ever dictated, the North Americans will make a point of maintaining the national honor. These good laws will be perpetuated among them from age to age, because they will always recognise in them the purest source of public prosperity and individual happiness.

After a voyage of twenty-one days we made land off the east point of Port Rico, on the 15th of January, 1783. We heard that we were to go to Cap François in the island of St. Domingo, after having collected the men-of-war which were separated, and the convoy which had been dispersed during the storm; but we soon learned that admiral Hood blockaded in that port the Spanish squadron of Don Solano, with eighteen ships of the line, and that he was waiting for the arrival of M. de Vaudreuil.

The Aigrette, French frigate, which came from port St. Jean, where it had touched, as well as the Ceres, with

eighty transports laden with provisions, bound for St. Domingo, confirmed this account of the position of the enemy. Our situation became very critical. M. de Vaudreuil continued to cruise off Porto Rico, and was obliged to renounce his intention of going to Cap François. It is probable that admiral Hood, when informed of the approach of the French squadron, would not fail to come to meet it, and engage it with a superior force. Besides, we had no news of the Spaniards; only one of their ships, the Don Juan, was at anchor in Port St. Jean, and the governor of the place, though he had a good garrison of three thousand men, was afraid of being attacked. Our minds were so engaged during this cruise by the precarious situation of the squadron, that nobody thought of enjoying the magnificent scenes which lay before us, the pureness of the air and the pleasure of navigation in these fine seas. An English frigate, detached from the squadron of admiral Hood, came to reconnoitre us; it had driven the Malin cutter close to the coast; La Couronne of the line relieved it, and chased the English frigate, which escaped during the night. The marquis de Vaudreuil having collected all the ships of his squadron, and the two storeships escorted by the Néréide, made the Ceres quit Port St. Jean, and resolved to leave this dangerous station and proceed to the second rallying point, indicated in the instructions. We were much surprised to learn that it was Porto Cabello, in the province of Venezuela, on the coast of South America.

On the 21st of January the squadron steered S. W., to pass between Porto Rico and St. Domingo; we doubled the island of La Monna, and then tacked to ascend the channel between the main land and the island of Curaçao. We had no pilot but the one whom Don Galvez, the governor of the province of Carraccas, had sent to M. de Vaudreuil, to guide his passage through the Bahama channel. This pilot was but little acquainted with that coast, which is full of shoals, and had navigated there only with small vessels. A very fresh N. E. wind caused a swell in the sea, and rendered the voyage very fatiguing. We were obliged to ascend a narrow channel against the wind, which never varies but from N. E. to S. E., and against rapid currents, the strength and real direction of which were unknown to us all. We had still forty leagues

to run, making short boards. Don Solano had assured us, that by steering near the coast we might easily take advantage of the land breezes, but the coast was as new to us as to the bold navigators who discovered it, and who had only light ships. We approached the terra firma, constantly sounding, to recognise successively points to which our disconcerted pilot gave at hazard different names. We could not stretch from the shore but by tacking and approaching Curaçao, where the currents were less violent; but we soon lost this slight advantage, and found ourselves embayed and less advanced than we were before. Thus making short boards, we were sometimes in sight of the port and town of Curaçao, where M. de Vaudreuil, faithful to his instructions, would not touch, and from which guns loaded with ball cartridges were fired at us, to warn us of the danger of approaching too near. When we tacked, the currents hurried us again to the Spanish coast. We perceived at the farther end of the bays, groves of oranges which bordered the shore, and the lofty mountains, the summits of which were enveloped in a blue vapor. During the night we kept off the shore and in the middle of the channel, struggling against the wind; the squadron was dispersed; several ships were dismasted, and not able, like the Triomphante, to repair their damage whilst under sail, and were therefore obliged to touch at Curaçao. It was not till we had passed eighteen days in this unpleasant position that we succeeded in doubling the point of Chichiribichi, which forms the gulf of Triste, at the further end of which lies Porto Cabello. We were still seventeen leagues to leeward, when a French lugger met us, brought us a pilot and the melancholy news of the shipwreck of La Bourgogne of the line, which had run aground on the point of Tacaya, where we had been some days before. We had heard during the night signals of distress, but having sounded and found a coral bottom and only two feet water under the keel, we had scarcely time to tack. M. de Champourçain, who commanded that fine vessel, which had on board 1,100 men including the troops, ought to have been the last to quit it, but he saved himself on one of the rafts which he had caused to be constructed. It is said that he had the misfortune to survive the disgrace of having failed in his duty. In the confusion that prevailed the rafts were soon over-crowded, and there was a

desperate conflict to loosen them from the vessel. Between three and four hundred persons only gained the shore. Almost all the rest perished. The officer who brought us this melancholy account was sent by the captain of the Neriade, which had taken on board some of the unhappy persons, who had remained without relief for three days on the wreck of the ship.

At length, on the 10th of February we arrived at Porto Cabello, where we found two of our ships, the Augusta and the Pluto, which had passed to the windward of Porto Rico. Nothing can be more picturesque or wild than the appearance of the lofty mountains which surround the gulf of Triste. This chain, which is seldom broken, extends along the coasts of New Spain and joins on the one side the lofty peaks of St. Martha, towards the great lake of Maracaibo, and on the other, those, beyond which is the course of the Orinoco. Everything announces to the astonished eye a vast continent; nature appears on a grand scale, and strongly calls to mind the impression which such a scene must have made on the mind of the navigator who discovered this new hemisphere. How impatient was I to land! I expected wonders.and endeavored to distinguish the masses which a thick fog obscured. The reality soon dispelled all the chimeras of my imagination. I found only a flat beach sunk at the foot of the mountain which had charmed me,and which when seen close at hand presented no variety of scenery.

Porto Cabello had been very well chosen for the rendezvous of the French and Spanish squadrons which were to operate in the projected expedition against Jamaica. The English, who had no suspicion of it, had divided their forces; one part remaining stationed in the Windward Islands, while admiral Hood was in vain waiting for M. Vaudreuil on the coast of St. Domingo. We found in this port all the resources which were necessary to revictual the ships, as well as timber for the principal repairs. None but the superior officers and those of the staff of the army, obtained permission to lodge in the town. The troops were kept on board. Baron de Viomesnil merely ordered that they should be landed every day for exercise, this being the only means of preserving them from the effects of the unhealthy climate.

All the ships which had separated from us in the chan-

nel arrived successively, except the Hercules and the Couronne, which were under repair at Curaçao, and did not join us at Porto Cabello till a month after our arrival. Our stay was most disagreeably prolonged. The Spanish admiral, blockaded either at Cap Français or at the Havanna, had little chance of joining us. At all events, we had orders to wait for the arrival of the grand fleet from Europe under the command of count d'Estaing, which was to sail from Cadiz to attack Jamaica, after having collected all the force by sea and land stationed in the Windward Islands.

The squadron being united and perfectly repaired, M. Vaudreuil waited only for the Aviso, which was to acquaint us with the sailing of the grand fleet from Cadiz, when the Andromache frigate came to announce to us that peace was concluded, and with instructions to M. Vaudreuil to repair to Cap Français. It is impossible to describe the joy which the hopes of a speedy return to our own country diffused throughout the whole army; no just idea can be formed of it, but by those who have experienced this feeling, at the distance of thousands of miles from their native shores.

The marquis de Vaudreuil hoisted his flag on board the Northumberland, a new vessel, and one of the best sailers of his squadron, commanded by M. de Médine. The Triomphante, lately the admiral's ship, was to separate from the squadron, and pass the straits of Gibraltar to go to Toulon. Most of the officers of the staff accompanied him on board the Northumberland. Baron de Viomesnil, the commander-in-chief, did not quit M. de Vaudreuil, and I continued with him as chief of the staff of the army. The count de Ségur likewise embarked on board this vessel. We quitted Porto Cabello on the 3d of April, 1783. The fresh northeast winds which had so much impeded us before, were now in our favor, and we had an easy and speedy voyage to Cap Français. M. de Vaudreuil was so obliging as to detach the Amazon frigate to convey the count de Ségur to the south part of the island, as he desired to visit his plantation there; Berthier accompanied him. I regretted that my duties hindered me from doing the same.

The rich colony of St. Domingo was at this time in the highest degree of its splendor.* The immense preparations

which had been made there for the expedition against Jamaica enhanced this brilliant prosperity. The Spanish squadron was waiting for us in the port; both together composed a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eight frigates. The combined fleet from Cadiz consisted of forty ships of the line. Thus after the junction count d'Estaing would have had under his command sixty-three ships of the line. If we suppose, as we reasonably may, that the English would not have failed to collect a naval force at least equal to ours, we may judge how important the events of this campaign would have been.

The French and Spanish troops united at Cap Français formed an effective force of about 20,000 men, and the combined fleets would doubtless bring powerful reinforcements, which could not be estimated at less than 10,000 men. The quays of St. Domingo were covered with a numerous train of heavy and field artillery. What combinations, what efforts, what expense, to dispute the possession of an island at the further extremity of the Atlantic Ocean! What an effusion of blood, what disasters were prevented by the glorious peace of 1783!

The commerce of the colony had never been more flourishing than at this moment. Numerous convoys had lately arrived, about 500 merchantmen were at anchor in the port, the warehouses were filled with European goods, which were heaped up in the open market-places and sold, especially our wines, at lower prices than in France. From this faithful picture we may estimate the immense amount of the losses which the revolutions of St. Domingo have brought upon the mother country.

My occupations and the illness of which I felt the first attacks, scarcely allowed me to make some excursions into the plain about Cap Francais. I visited one of the principal plantations. The manager explained to me all the details of the several kinds of cultivation, the system of irrigation, the different works, and said, showing me from an elevated spot the extent of the plain and the magnificence of its produce, "the horizon to which your view extends between the hills and the shore embraces a territory which produces a revenue of 60,000,000 francs."

All these wonders affected me but little. I preferred the plains of Connecticut and of Rhode Island, and the

pure air which we there breathed, to the scorching rays of the sun of the Antilles.

After a stay of three days at this place I made arrangements, by order of baron de Viomesnil, for the embarkation of the army, and was preparing to return to America to fulfil the mission for which the chevalier de Luzerne had appointed me, when I learnt that the article of the treaty of peace which fixed the new demarkation of the frontiers from the river St. Croix to the Mississippi prevented all difficulties, even beyond the hopes of the Americans, and rendered the labor of the commissioners useless. I had left at Providence, in the house of Dr. Bowen, and especially intrusted to his amiable daughters, a small box containing various papers and the notes which I had made in the course of our two campaigns. This box, which I supposed to be lost, has been carefully preserved by Mrs. Ward, the youngest of those ladies, the only survivor of her family, and who has done me the honor to remember me. After a lapse of forty years, having met at New York with general La Fayette during his triumphal progress, Mrs. Ward was so good as to inquire after me, and requested the general to convey this box to me, with an affecting testimony of our former friendship. The notes, which I have thus recovered, have served me to make the sketch which I have inserted above. The embarkation of the troops being completed, we sailed on the 30th of April, 1783, all rejoicing that we were returning to our native country. When we reached the latitude of the Azores the winds were very favorable. The fever had quitted me, I felt myself reviving. The staffs of the army and navy, united on board the Northumberland, formed a very agreeable society; the conversation was animated and interesting.

For some days we were detained by calms, which were succeeded by violent winds from the S. W. The squadron made eleven knots an hour. As we approached the coast of France we found a thick fog, which did not allow the coasting pilots to discover at what point we were going to make the land. They affirmed, judging by the soundings, that the currents had carried us beyond Ushant, and that we were within the channel. The observations of the longitude, made by MM. de L'Aiguille and Grandchain, proved, according to them, that we were very close in

shore. In this uncertainty, as night was coming on, the admiral tacked to stand out to sea. On the following morning again steering towards the east, and the wind having become fresher, the sentries cried "land!" and the coasting pilots declared that they perceived the towers of Ushant, but M. de Medine, the captain of the ship, who had navigated on this dangerous coast even more than they had, suddenly ordered the ship to tack. He had perceived through the fog the breakers on the shoals of the Saintes on which we were running before the wind. The Northumberland was at the head of the squadron, to which a signal was made to execute the same manœuvre. The fog having suddenly cleared up, we distinguished the waves breaking against the rocks, where the whole squadron would inevitably have perished but for the vigilance and presence of mind of M. de Medine. Some hours afterwards we entered the channel of Lyroise, and anchored in the road of Brest on the 19th of June, after a voyage of forty-nine days.



CHAPTER III.

Arrival at Paris—Mission to the Levant—Arrival at Toulon—Return to Paris—Mission to Germany—Return to Paris—My marriage, February 5, 1785—Examination and classification of the archives of the navy—Memoir on the defence of the colonies—Journey of Louis XVI, to Cherbourg—Diverse employments in the council of war—Mission to Holland in 1787—Plan for the invasion of Holland, 1788—Camp of St. Omer—Reporter of the council of war—State of public opinion at the time of the convocation of the states-general.

I LANDED on the 19th of June and remained at Brest no longer than was necessary to terminate my functions, and obtain the permission of baron de Viomesnil to go to Paris. I had the pleasure of finding at Brest intelligence from my family; one of my brothers was in India; the other had remained in America, and was not to return till some months later. My father, who had for several years been deprived of his children, urged me to repair to him at Montpellier. At the same time I received a very obliging letter from the count de Charlus, who informed

me that his father, the minister of marine, desired me to come to him, intending to send me on a special mission. I likewise learnt that count de Rochambeau had obtained for me a major's commission, and that I belonged to the corps of the general's staff, which had lately been formed, under the command of the marquis d'Aqueseau. I hastened to repair to Paris, where I was affectionately received by my former general, count de Puységur. I proceeded to Marseilles to thank marshal Ségur, the minister of war, to whom I was presented by his son. The count de Charlus presented me also to his father, who, seeing that I was pale and languid from the effects of my fever at St. Domingo, was of opinion, that I was not in a condition to undertake immediately a long voyage, attended with considerable labor. I begged him not to deprive me of this opportunity of meriting my promotion, and added that the change of climate and useful occupation would concur in the restoration of my health. The marshal then explained to me in a few words the political motives of the secret mission which I was going to fulfil.

The invasion of the Crimea, and the ambitious views of Catharine II, gave reason to expect that war would break out in the East—that France might be drawn in to take part in it; and on this supposition, the government desired to obtain accurate information respecting the ports, the fortresses, and the fortified points of the island, and of the coasts of the Archipelago, including the position of Constantinople, on the two seas. Our long connection with the Ottoman empire, and the flourishing state of our commerce in those countries, seemed to call upon us to oppose the encroachments of Russia; on the other hand, an exaggerated opinion was entertained of the decline of the Turkish empire in Europe, and in case of dismemberment, which was thought to be near at hand, it was in contemplation to make ourselves masters of those possessions, which might the best secure our maritime superiority. It was the Island of Candia, in particular, which the French government had in view. It might be the recompense, either of the succors which France should give to its old ally, or that of a neutrality in favor of Russia. The marshal de Castries directed the chevalier de Fleurieu, who enjoyed his entire confidence, to confer with me on the military reconnoissance, and to give me all the communi-

cations which might relate to it. I received secret instructions from the minister of the marine in his own handwriting. To mask this mission I was likewise instructed to visit, together with count Bonneval, captain of a ship of the line, all the ports in the Levant, as baron de Tott had done some years before. I was ordered to travel under another name, and not to put on my uniform, except in cases where I might be exposed to some risk. When I took leave of marshal de Castries and marshal de Ségur, both of them held out the hope that I should obtain on my return the rank of colonel. I set out for Montpellier, where I enjoyed some days' rest in the bosom of my own family. A courier brought me my final instructions, and I proceeded without loss of time to Toulon. I stopped on the 3d of September at the last stage at Ollioules, and directly sent my servant to the count de Bonneval, commanding La Badine corvette, on board of which I was to embark. He was only waiting for me to set sail, and appointed me to meet him on the following evening at the village of La Seine, near which the corvette was lying at anchor.*

On landing in France I passed some days at Montpellier with my father, and was gratified by the satisfaction which my family felt at my promotion, and the proof of confidence which I received from the government. The count de Bonnevall had reached Paris before me, and we were both very well received by the minister, the marshal de Castries, and the marshal de Ségur. Each of us received from the royal munificence a pension of 2000 francs per annum from the funds of the navy. Count de Bonnevall was appointed major-general of the arsenal of Toulon, and hopes were held out to me that I should be speedily promoted to the rank of colonel. I received with gratitude these encouragements, and was more particularly flattered by the approbation given to the result of our

* The author here gives a long account of his tour in Greece and the Levant, extracted from letters which he wrote at the time, and which have been preserved. Considering, however, that between fifty and sixty years have since elapsed, and that numberless travellers of all nations have given us in succession narratives of their travels up to the present time, it may naturally be supposed that these letters can convey but little that would now appear novel or interesting, and the whole account of the mission is, therefore, omitted.—*Translator's note.*

expedition by M. Fleurien de Borda, who had been appointed to draw up our instructions.

Towards the end of Nov. 1784, marshal de Ségur was pleased to entrust me with a very delicate mission. The pretensions of the emperor Joseph II, respecting the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, had excited the jealousy of the Dutch, whose good will the cabinet of Versailles cultivated, in order to counterbalance the naval power of England, if not by an effective alliance, like that at the termination of the last war, at least by a respectable armed neutrality. Some troubles in Brabant, which was always impatient of the yoke of Austria, had furnished the emperor with a plausible pretext to send a body of troops into that country. Under these circumstances, the ambitious policy of the cabinet of Vienna, and the intrigues of England, had alarmed the French government. There was very imperfect information at Versailles, respecting the designs of the emperor. The amount of the forces which he sent to the Low Countries was not known; it was prudent and necessary to be well-informed upon this subject, but on account of the family alliance, and the state of our connections with the court of Vienna, it would have been indiscreet and dangerous to disturb by any striking step, the harmony which existed between the two states. These motives determined marshal de Ségur to reconnoitre with great secrecy the march of the troops which his imperial majesty had put in motion, as well as the several military preparations, which made a great noise in Germany. I was ordered to fulfil this difficult mission, and I received notice of it from my honorable friend the count de Ségur, who had particularly recommended me to his father. I took the orders of the Marshal, who himself explained to me his intentions verbally. I received no written instructions but an itinerary, which was dictated by M. de Vaux, director-general of the war depôt. At the moment of my departure the count de Ségur wrote me a letter, which I take pleasure in inserting here, as a proof of his ancient and constant friendship.

Nov. 8, 1784.

I write one word more, my dear Dumas, to wish you a favorable voyage, and to send you what you expect, before you set out. Remember that more agreeable occu-

pation is reserved for you on your return. You ask me for advice; truly I am not conceited enough to give you any. I should have much more reason to ask for yours. You know as well as I do the object of your mission, and you will soon inform us of the number of troops, which the emperor intends to send along the Rhine, and of the roads which they are to take. If magazines are made only for this passage, your stay will be short, and your mission easy. If there are considerable magazines, then more care will be necessary to discover the objects in view, and give us such advice as may be necessary for the safety of Alsace. However half a word is sufficient to a man like you. *Do not alarm without necessity, but do not give warning too late.*

Yours sincerely,

COUNT DE SEGUR.

I proceeded first to Strasburg, where the marquis de la Salle, who commanded there, and whom the minister had informed of my mission, appointed M. Riehl, an officer in one of our German regiments, to accompany me, and act as my interpreter. I had reason to be well satisfied with the good sense and activity of my companion. I followed the route which had been marked out for me. I went by way of Stuttgard, Ulm, and Munich, to the frontiers of Upper Austria, where I inspected all the roads from Tyrol to Saxony, which terminated the principal towns on the Rhine. I returned by way of Rattisbon, Nuremburg, Frankfort, Mayence, and Luxembourg. Without mentioning the details of my investigations and my conferences with the resident French minister, I confine myself to the following extract of the account, which I rendered to the minister on my return to Versailles:—

" * * * * * * * * The army which his imperial majesty is sending to the Low Countries, is only 30,000 men. Of all the statements which have been sent to the marshal, the most accurate and the most detailed with respect to the effective force of the columns, is that of baron de Grosplag. The series of bulletins which I have transmitted to the marshal contains the documents which I have successively collected respecting the direction of the columns, the march of the troops, their formation, and their subsistence. This march and its variations,

the passage of 30,000 men through the different circles of the empire, are at present well known. The essential point is the union of the two strongest columns at Coblentz, because the advantageous position of that place commands the navigation of the Rhine and of the Moselle. Though his imperial majesty has asked of the elector only leave for his troops to stop three days, under pretext of having time to prepare pontoons to cross the river, there is every reason to believe that a part at least of the army will be cantoned in the environs of Coblentz. The fortress of Eherenbreitstein is a *point d'appui* to which the reinforcements and the convoys are to be directed. * * *

"I have seen the memoir addressed to the marshal by count Dumoustier, minister of France, to the elector of Treves, and I have carefully weighed the judicious observations which it contains. M. de Vaux, according to the notes which have been communicated to me, thinks with reason, that the emperor will desire to connect the fortress of Luxembourg with Coblentz, by the course of the Moselle, and the very broken and mountainous country of the electorate of Treves. Such, in fact, must be the basis of his operations, or at least the general position of an army of observation with respect to our frontier.

"If it is true that we cannot guess the further intentions of his imperial majesty, except from the magazines already formed, it may be said that, by every where securing the resources which are found in each country, he has veiled his secret, and secured subsistence for a much more considerable army than that of which we have any knowledge. M. Legisfield, the intendant-general of the imperial army, said at Coblentz that he had purchased in Suabia and Franconia, sufficient corn for the subsistence of an army of 100,000 men for two years. Is this any thing more than a political boast? The magazine formed at Luxembourg, where 1,150,000 rations of forage have been collected, would partly justify the assertion of the intendant. * * * * * * * *

"A train of artillery and ammunition of all kinds are preparing at Luxembourg.

"The marshal may perceive by the correspondence which he has opened with his majesty's ministers and residents, how zealous they all are in seconding his foresight"

All these precautions, as well as the preparations commenced in our arsenals, proved superfluous. The explanations given by the court of Vienna dispelled the alarm that had been conceived. The emperor Joseph contented himself with sending to the Low Countries and the fortresses on the Rhine, six regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, in all about 15,000 men. The fermentation which manifested itself in those provinces afforded sufficient grounds for these measures.

Towards the end of December, after this tour, which was rather fatiguing, but not wholly useless to me in a professional point of view, I resumed my usual occupations; but I was soon agreeably diverted from them by projects of marriage. I had been intimately acquainted for some years, and before my departure to America, with the family of M. Delarue, senior of the receivers of revenue of the city of Paris. M. Poncet, my friend and comrade in the regiment of Medoc, who was allied to the family, introduced me; and Madame Delarue, a most sensible, accomplished, and engaging woman, had drawn me into her society, and treated me with the greatest kindness. M and Madame Delarue had only two children; a charming daughter, brought up under the eyes of her mother, and who was at that time not more than fifteen years of age, and a son only a year older. Julia, whom I had left a child, was in all respects mature beyond her age, and several good matches had already been offered her. The fortune of the family was considerable, and built on a solid foundation. My moderate resources would scarcely allow me to venture to conceive the hope of so desirable an establishment. Madame Delarue, presuming from my first success in my profession, that my zeal, encouraged and supported by honorable patrons, would enable me to make up by my exertions for the deficiency of fortune, did justice to my sentiments and my character in persuading herself that my whole life would be devoted to the happiness of her daughter. She pleaded for me with M. Delarue; they adopted me, and I received the hand of Julia as a gift of heaven, as an anticipated recompense for all the good that I might do during the whole course of my life. My father joyfully gave his consent to this happy union, and the ceremony of my marriage was performed on the 5th of February, 1785, by

the bishop of Montpellier, in the chapel of the Royal Library.

A short time after my marriage, I was appointed by the marshal de Castries, at first together with count de Bonneval, and afterwards with captain the marquis de la Prevelaye, one of the most learned and distinguished officers of the French navy, to examine and make extracts of the archives in the dépôt of the Marine. This dépôt was at that time at Versailles, under the direction of a keeper of the records. There was no system of classification in this immense mass of papers. The most interesting materials for history were mixed and confounded with heaps of useless rubbish ; of letters which, even at the time when they were written, could not have been of any value. This dusty accumulation of boxes, arranged according to the dates of the years and in alphabetical order, had been scrupulously preserved by the clerks successively employed in registering them ; and they looked on the examination which we were to make as a profanation.

This work took about a year ; only a portion is of some importance as regards history. The sequel of the examination affording nothing interesting, my colleague, the marquis de la Prevelaye, was summoned to Brest to superintend the building of ships, and I was directed by the minister to draw up a new plan for the military organisation and the defence of the colonies.

The new task which the confidence of the marshal de Castries had assigned me was much more important than that which I had just executed ; I perceived its full extent, and was sensible of my insufficiency to perform it ; but without being too much alarmed, I applied myself to it with all my might.

In the course of September, 1786, I was very agreeably diverted for a time from these occupations, by the favor which the minister did me by allowing me to accompany him and act as his aid-de-camp on the visit, which the king made to Cherbourg.

They were at that time continuing the expensive operation, which has since been found useless, or at least superfluous, of forming the great jetty between the two passages, by a contiguous line of cones sunk to the bottom, and loaded with stones. Several of these cones had already been connected by throwing heaps of large stones

between them, and thus a first basis had been obtained, and an artificial reef of about 150 fathoms formed at the height of low water. Louis XVI, who devoted his attention with very enlightened ardor to every thing that concerned the increase and the improvement of his navy, had particularly at heart the formation of the port of Cherbourg, which was to be one of the most glorious monuments of his reign. He desired to judge for himself of the state of the works, of what had already been done, and to encourage the undertaking with his presence. Placed on the platform of one of the cones which were already fixed, the king saw the cone that was last made, towed, placed on the line, and sunk to the bottom. It was a grand sight. When this operation was completed, the king embarked on board the fine ship which was commanded by commodore Albert de Rioms, one of our most celebrated naval officers, who had highly distinguished himself during the last war. The monarch, who was well versed in naval architecture, and who knew every thing relative to the naval profession that can be learned by theory, examined the ship in every part, interrogated the officers very minutely, and made the most pertinent observations. Returning to the chief cabin, M. Albert de Rioms asked Louis XVI, what should be the name of the ship, to which his majesty replied, "Let it be called the Patriot," and this name was fixed to the stern in the king's presence, who gave orders to put to sea. A signal was made to the squadron to do the same ; there was a light wind from the S. E., the tide was beginning to run down, and the currents carrying us out to sea, we were soon two leagues from the coast. The wind having freshened, the admiral represented to the king that it was time to tack, because if he proceeded any farther he could not promise to return to Cherbourg. "Never mind," said the king, who was much pleased with this trip, "we shall be well received in some English port." This agreeable excursion did not terminate till a little before the close of day, and it was night when we landed.

During the winter of 1787 I was called to the council of war a short time after its formation, and employed in matters relative to the service of the general staff, particularly the organisation of the military divisions and the determination of their boundaries. I was charged, under

the command of general marquis de Lambert, with all the recognisances for the establishment of the troops in the fortresses and quarters. I had about this time obtained the cross of St. Louis by right of seniority as major, and some months afterwards I was promoted to the rank of colonel. Marshal de Ségur had then quitted the post of minister of war, and had been succeeded by the count de Brienne, brother to the prime minister, the archbishop of Sens. I continued to be employed by the council of war in the preparation of various materials relative to the organisation of the army and the drawing up of the new ordinances, which brought me to a close connection with the count de Guibert, reporter to the council. I could not fail to profit greatly by these communications with an officer of such distinguished merit. The count de Puységur, one of the principal members of the council of war, my real patron, guided me by his experience and his judgment, and assisted me by his good advice. It was he who recommended me to fulfil, under the direction of the marquis de Lambert, a confidential mission in Holland, the object of which was connected with the greatest political interests of that time. For a long time past, but especially during the late naval war, France, endeavoring to draw into its alliance the United Provinces, had favored the popular party in Holland, and had not ceased to excite it against that of the Stadtholder, which was always inclined to serve the policy of England. The alliance of the house of Orange with Prussia gave much strength and confidence to the party of the Stadtholder, and threatened France with a dangerous coalition if the popular party, which it supported by its intrigues and its credit, had not prevailed. The house of Orange persisting in seeking support in foreign interests, wholly opposed to those of the nation, was led to acts of violence, which offended and irritated the minds of the people, and brought on the revolution which caused the chief magistrate of the republic to lose the power, whose limits he had exceeded. In these civil troubles the greater part of the armed force (the navy) remained faithful to the house of Orange, even after its expulsion; the army was divided; some of the troops threw themselves into the fortresses, but the greater part joined the ranks of the patriots, and followed the impulse which

had been given by Amsterdam, and then by all the great cities.

Such a state of things seemed necessarily to lead to war; it was prudent, it was indispensable to prepare for it; for it might be supposed that England would not fail to seize the opportunity to revenge itself for the powerful assistance given by France to the cause of the independence of the English colonies, and that being sure of the intervention of Prussia, it would raise up a war against its rival on the old theatre of the Low Countries. The emperor of Austria, who was then engaged in the war against the Turks, which was as unfortunate as ill-conducted, could only send an inconsiderable force into those provinces; but the family compact bound him to furnish a contingent; and if France thought it necessary for its security to send a body of troops to the frontier of Holland, he could not refuse to let it pass through his territory.

It was evidently the interest of France to support the popular party in Holland, and to prevent the invasion of the country by the Prussians. With this view, government announced the formation of a camp at Givet, and assemblages of troops in Artois and the bishoprics. A great noise was made about these preparations; the prime minister, the archbishop of Sens, dreaded the explosion of a war, which the state of fermentation at home should have made him wish for. He flattered himself that threats would be sufficient to support the French party in Holland, and that he should preserve peace without making any disgraceful concessions; but while he paralysed in the council the efforts of his colleagues, and the ardor of the army and navy: while he suffered himself to be braved by the English ambassador, the duke of Brunswick was marching to Holland at the head of a Prussian army, and yet France had never been in a more advantageous situation to undertake a war, or had more urgent reasons for doing so. The navy had been placed in the most excellent condition since the conclusion of peace, under the enlightened and prudent administration of marshal de Castries; the men and officers were full of ardor and thirst of glory. The army was very fine, in admirable condition, and highly disciplined in all its branches. France could have fitted out a numerous fleet in its ports on the ocean

much sooner than England, whose sailors were then dispersed on board its merchantmen in remote countries. An army of 60,000 men might have been ready in a few weeks to pass the frontiers.

It was under these circumstances that news was received at Versailles of the movements of the Prussian army, and that the Duke of Brunswick was certainly on the point of penetrating into the heart of Holland.

The count de Saint Priest, formerly ambassador to the Porte and minister of state, received orders to repair to Breda, to which place the leaders of the patriotic party had retired, and to confer with them on their means of defence, and on the succor which France might afford them in time to resist the attack of the Prussians till it should be possible to act with a more powerful force. Lieut.-general the marquis de Lambert, whom I accompanied, was sent with the count de Saint Priest, to discuss in this conference the military questions which would of course be treated of. The minister-plenipotentiary set out as soon as he left the council, before we had received our instructions. We made all possible haste to join him. The Dutch commissioners, of whom the celebrated Paulus was president, explained the almost desperate condition of their friends, and gave us details of the progress of the invasion which were not known at Versailles, any further than that the city of Utrecht had been occupied by the Prussians, and that preparations were making at Amsterdam to open the sluices, and lay the country under water. It had been decided that the marquis de la Fayette should embark at Dunkirk on board a frigate, accompanied by some other vessels and a small body of troops, to throw himself into Amsterdam. It was easy for Mr. Paulus to prove to us how tardy and insufficient these measures were. We were compelled to listen to the most bitter reproaches:—"The French," said he, "are useless friends, and cannot appear before the Prussians, except as weak enemies." The count de Saint Priest replied with dignity to these vituperations, and endeavored to raise their hopes. "If there is still a ray of hope remaining," added Mr. Paulus, "it is in the defence of Amsterdam. All the polders between the great dykes and the lake of Haarlem are already inundated, and the Prussians, who doubtless occupy the whole country, cannot approach the city, ex-

cept by proceeding along the dykes on the east and on the west. It seems, after having made such great sacrifices, the access to the city, on these two points might be easily defended for a long while, in order to afford time to come to our assistance. But it would be necessary to raise the courage and the confidence of the inhabitants, and above all, to provide for the pay of the troops who have retired to Amsterdam, and among whom are the officers and gunners of the French artilley, whom the king of France had sent to us secretly. Bnt we can now have no communication with Amsterdam, because we must pass through the Prussian posts." "Well," said the marquis de Lambert, "I will undertake to do it, and go and judge for myself of the situation of the city, and of the possibility of organising its defence."

This offer having been accepted by the commissioners, and our hazardous enterprise approved by the count de Saint Priest, M. de Lambert and I disguised ourselves in the costume of Brussels merchants who were attempting to get to Amsterdam for their commercial affairs. False passports were made out for us, and we took with us letters of credit for a million of francs, concealed under our Dutch wigs. We set out the very same evening, without taking any servant; crossed the Bisboz, and arrived by daybreak at the right bank of the Great Meuse, where we found a post of Prussian hussars, who, after having examined our passports, suffered us to proceed without any difficulty; nor did we meet with any in passing through Rotterdam. We travelled unmolested and pretty rapidly in one of the little country chaises which we had hired at Rotterdam. The Orange flag was flying on all the steeples, and hailed by the noisy acclamations of the Stadtholder's party. We reached Leyden at nightfall. The town was illuminated, and occupied by a corps of Prussian infantry, and we learnt that the head-quarters of the Duke of Brunswick were some miles further off, to the right of the road. We met several patrols of cavalry, which did not attempt to stop us; but a little further on, at the entrance of the village, a troop of armed peasants obliged us to alight, and took us to the burgomaster's, where there was a Prussian officer, who commanded at that station. We were very strictly interrogated; happily we were not searched, but as the inhabilants who had

arrested us thought us very suspicious, the officer declared that he should send us under a good escort to the head-quarters. Our situation may easily be conceived. The marquis de Lambert was very well known to the Duke of Brunswick, having had an audience with that prince only a short time before when travelling in Prussia. We, however, put a good face upon the matter, and fortune favored us Among the Dutch who questioned us, there was a schoolmaster, who, speaking a little French, acted as interpreter. The self-love of this doctor, who repeated word for word what he said, and gave more credit to our assertions as he translated them, relieved us from our embarrassment. On his assurance our passports were signed, and we reached Haarlem, which was still occupied by the patriots.

From Haarlem to Amsterdam, proceeding along the great dyke, we had the melancholy spectacle of the inundation which covered all the polders and the magnificent gardens in the environs of the town.

After our first conference with the members of the municipal council and the chevalier de Ternan, a French colonel, who had served in the American war, to whom the command of Amsterdam had been entrusted, M. de Lambert and myself judged that the means of defence were insufficient, and that there were no hopes of organising a force, capable of resisting the attacks with which the town was threatened by the Prussian column, which must soon appear on the side of Haarlem, and by the other, which, having marched by Utrecht and along the sea-coast, was on the point of taking possession of the fort and the great sluice of Muiden. This last post was the most important; and as we were assured that it was in good condition and would be bravely defended, the marquis de Lambert was determined to reconnoitre it himself. We therefore proceeded thither on foot (the distance is about two miles) with some French officers, among whom was my friend Poncet, who was then aid-de-camp to the count de Maillebois. We walked along the top of the dyke, and observed a frigate and two brigs, approaching the coast, which we were told belonged to the patriotic party. The vessels, however, when they got within half-cannon shot, suddenly hoisted the orange flag, and commenced such a brisk cannonade upon us that we were obliged to descend

on the back of the dyke, in order to reach the fort. This indication of a combined attack, the bad condition of this fort, and the despondency of the weak garrison contained in it, left us no doubt of the inutility of the last efforts of the vanquished party.

Returning to Amsterdam, we had nothing more to do than to distribute the pecuniary aid which the marquis de Lambert was authorised to give. We returned by way of Haarlem and the Hague, and before we had rejoined the count de St. Priest, we heard of the capitulation of Amsterdam. The leaders of the party, which was so injudiciously and shamefully abandoned, sought an asylum in France, while the Prussians completed the reinstatement of the house of Orange, and England triumphed without having fought.

The archbishop of Sens, who was already embarrassed by financial difficulties, which produced the resistance of the parliament and the first outbreak of public opinion, still feigned to protect the patriotic party in Holland, and listened to the proposals which were made to him to restore it to power. In this view, and to give some consistency to vague projects, it was resolved that camps of exercise should be formed at Metz and St. Omer.

I had resumed, under the direction of the chevalier de Luzerne, who had succeeded the marshal de Castries as minister of marine, the task of drawing up the ordinances for the colonies. I continued likewise to be employed in reconnoissances and special missions by the council of war. The marquis de Lambert and the count de Saint Priest instructed me to draw up secretly, in concert with M. Pauls, a plan for the invasion of Holland.

We set out on the supposition that a league of the northern powers against France was resolved upon: that England was arming and would not let slip the opportunity of engaging France in a continental war; that in the sequel Holland would become the centre and the focus of the league; that England would double its naval force in its dock-yards, and form magazines in its fortresses; and that France ought to prevent a storm which could not be dispelled by negotiation.

The state of affairs in the interior, far from being an obstacle to the display of our strength, was an additional motive to recover our respect abroad and the reputation of

our arms. This war was no less popular than that in favor of the American independence had been. It was ardently desired by the army, the discipline of which it would have strengthened. Lastly, during the sitting of the states-general, it could not but confirm the royal authority, and extinguish the germs of discord, by dividing the attention and interest of the public between affairs abroad and those at home. Troops were collected in the camps of Metz and St. Omer; but there was no serious intention of intervening by arms in the affairs of Holland. Prussia and England were left to consolidate their alliance, to take care of the interests of Austria in the Low Countries, and to observe in concert the internal events, which the agitation of the minds of the people in France gave every reason to expect.

I was employed as first deputy quarter-master-general at the camp of St. Omer, commanded in chief by the prince of Condé. The camp consisted of about 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. I was extremely engaged by divers details of the service and plans—for grand manœuvres—applicable to the ground. The good appearance and the great proficiency of the troops were remarked in this camp, but a relaxation of discipline was also perceived, chiefly among the officers, most of whom were discontented with the frequent changes, weary of living in garrisons, disgusted by the tardiness of promotion, and the exclusion from higher offices, which were reserved almost entirely for the nobility about the court. The excellent Prince of Condé showed himself the friend and the father of the soldier, just, kind, and easy of access, and worthy the affection which he inspired.

After the breaking up of the camp I returned to Paris, where I resumed with M. de Lambert my ordinary occupations. The Archbishop of Sens had quitted the ministry, and the count de Puységur, who had succeeded the count de Brienne as minister of war, sent for me; and M. de Guibert having resigned his post as reporter to the council of war, in consequence of some unpleasant circumstances at the assembly of the nobility of his bailiwick, I was appointed his successor, to act as secretary to the council. When the drawing up of the ordinances for the organisation of the services and manœuvres of the different branches of the army was continued, I endeavored

in several memoirs, which were approved by the minister, to give more consistency and unity to the system of military administration which had been too much divided. This task was executed with M. Gau, commissary of war, and afterwards councillor of state.

The situation in which I then was, had in every respect, exceeded my hopes. Doubly happy at owing it to my excellent patron, I formed no other wish, I had no other ambition, than to justify his kindness by my zeal and assiduous efforts. I was satisfied with the honorable connections which it procured me. I was not an object of envy to any one, and was equally happy in my family circle. I shared with honorable friends, formerly my companions in arms, hopes of a better order of things in the administration of public affairs. The approaching meeting of the states-general seemed to revive in France the empire of the laws. I took a lively and sincere interest in the discussions of which this great event was the subject. I congratulated myself on being so situated as fully to enjoy this exalted spectacle, and to see the alliance between the authority of the princes and the liberty of the nation consolidated,—*principatum et libertatem.* It was the happiest time of my life.

The fermentation of the minds of the people, and the blows which had already been struck against the basis of the ancient institutions, might indeed give grounds to foresee a general convulsion. The powerful effects of public opinion, accelerated by the liberty of the press and the unseasonable use which had been made of arbitrary authority, had destroyed the charm and worn out the old springs of government. The horizon was overcast with clouds, and yet the security of all ranks of citizens was not disturbed. When I now recall to mind this state of society at the time of the meeting of the states-general, I do not remember to have perceived either distrust or dread of the future. Never, perhaps, was the reproach of levity and rashness which has in all ages been cast upon the French character, more merited. People talked of the establishment of a new constitution of the state as an easy task, as a natural event. In the intoxication of those days of rejoicing and hope, our eyes scarcely dwelt upon the obstacles which it would be necessary to surmount before the first foundations of liberty could be laid; before those

principles could be established which were repugnant to the spirit of the court, to the privileged orders, to the great corporate bodies, and to our ancient customs. But I must not forget that, in dictating these memoirs, I have not undertaken to write the history of my times. Materials sufficient are already prepared, or rather accumulated. Distinguished writers have already drawn from this rich mine: they have compared the facts, the authenticity of which is generally acknowledged, with the relations and the depositions of men of different parties, of different opinions, the eye-witnesses or actors in this tragic drama. Sincere according to his own information, according to his political views and his own feelings, each of these writers of the history of our revolution, professing impartiality, has pronounced his sentence in a positive manner, as well on the general and particular causes, as on the inevitable effects of these divers events. I shall not imitate this boldness, and confining myself to relating what I am certain of having seen and heard in the situation in which I was placed, I will say, (I repeat it,)

"J'étais là, telle chose m'advint."

CHAPTER IV.

First disturbances in Paris—The 14th of July, 1789—Scene at the Invalides—First formation of the national guard of Paris—Disbanding of the French guard—Mission to Rouen—Memoir on the constitution of the army—Entertainment of the body guard—The 5th and 6th of October, 1789—Organisation of the departments—Troubles in the south—Mission to Bordeaux, Montauban, and Toulouse—Divers employments—Mission to Alsace—Flight of the king, and his arrest at Varennes—Return to Paris—State of the public mind after the event—Command at Metz—Insurrection of the regiment of Nassau—Formation of the first battery of the horse artillery—Examination of the papers of the marquis de Bouillé—Election to the legislative assembly.

Being constantly employed in the council of war and in the cabinet of the minister, I rarely left Versailles, and observed with lively interest the movements and the intrigues occasioned by the sittings and stormy debates of

the three orders, before their reunion to the legislative assembly. When Necker was dismissed from the ministry, the count de Puységur and the count de Saint Priest, who participated in his opinions, were obliged to retire. The council of war was at first suspended, and soon after suppressed. I received at this time a retiring pension. No member of the council was employed by marshal de Broglie, to whom the affairs of the war department were confided. I went to Paris with the count de Puységur, and returned to Versailles to arrange the papers of the council, which had been entrusted to me. I was present at the memorable sittings of the national assembly during the troubles at Paris, and heard the speeches of Mirabeau and the famous address to the king for the dismissal of the troops. I joined my friend M. de Lameth, whose family was much alarmed on account of the acts of violence with which they were personally threatened. I had occasion to converse with Barnave, Duport, general de la Fayette, and other members of the minority of the nobility on the critical state of affairs. In my opinion civil war was imminent, and I am still of opinion that the generous heart of Louis XVI, and his sincere affection for his people, alone hindered it from breaking out. I returned to Paris on the 13th of July with the marquis de Lambert, whose hotel was in the suburb of St. Germains, and as I was lodged in the house of my father-in-law in the Rue Thevenot, we parted at the Place Louis XV. The aspect of Paris was sad and melancholy; the events of the preceding day, the useless and ill-judged essay of force, the charges of the cavalry on the inoffensive crowd in the garden of the Tuileries and on the Boulevards had irritated and afflicted all the well-disposed citizens. A great number of vagabonds, strangers to the city of Paris, who had poured into it since the commencement of the troubles. traversed the several quarters of the city, increasing their numbers by workmen who deserted their employments. They had seized here and there all sorts of arms, and uttered seditious cries The peaceable citizens fled at the approach of these groups, all the houses were shut, and wherever these frenetic hordes were not met with the streets appeared deserted and uninhabited. When I reached my own house in the quarter of St. Denis, which

is one of the most populous in Paris, several of these brigands were spreading terror by firing guns in the air.

It is well known that the scenes of disorder which took place at the Palais Royale in the Faubourg St. Antoine, &c. inspired the inhabitants with a well-founded and salutary terror, awakened their solicitude and that of the magistrates of the assembly of electors, and gave occasion to the spontaneous formation of the civic guard. I went to rejoin my family, who had taken refuge in the Rue des Vielles Andriettes au Marais, in the house of my friend general Pâris.

On the following day, the 14th of July, I mounted my horse about seven o'clock in the morning, to go to the residence of the marquis de Lambert, in the Rue de St. Guilliaume, Faubourg St. Germaine. I was stopped on the Pont Neuf, opposite the statue of Henry IV, to whose sword the new national tri-colored cockade had been fastened. A group of women posted before this pedestal, sold these cockades, and obliged all that passed by to put them on. When I arrived at the marquis de Lambert's, I learnt that he was at the hotel of the baron de Bezenval, commanding the troops encamped in the Champ de Mars. I immediately hastened thither and witnessed the anxiety and irresolution of the generals and superior officers, who were there assembled. The duke Duchâtelet, commander of the French guards, was there with some officers of his regiment. Orders, I believe, had just been received from Versailles to raise the camp. It was announced that a great crowd was going to the Hôtel des Invalides. The persons belonging to the head-quarters dispersed. My commander Berthier, who performed the office of chief of the staff, was much embarrassed with his portfolio, and we went together to bury it in a grove at the further end of the garden. An instant afterward a cry of alarm attracted our attention to what was passing without. We parted. I remounted my horse, and as I was proceeding to the Boulevards with the intention of going to the Hôtel de Lameth, in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs, I perceived, between the quincunxes of the Invalides, an immense crowd, which came by the quays It was preceded and led by two men on horseback. one of whom, in a scarlet habit, waved a large yellow flag. I stopped as near to the railing as I possibly could without being

mingled with the crowd. The gunners of the Invalides stood by their pieces with lighted matches ready to fire. The count de Sombreuil, the governor of the hotel, wearing his red riband, was standing on the parapet to the right of the iron gate, and appeared to be ready to give the signal. The crowd, which approached running, seemed to hesitate for a moment, and several of those who were most in advance turned off to the left; two or three of them came and took shelter under the breast of my horse, between the ditch and the quincunxes. The immense crowd which impelled the foremost ranks obliged them to throw themselves into the ditch. I did not doubt but there would be at least one discharge of the guns, but in the twinkling of an eye the scarp was scaled, the guns abandoned, and the iron gate forced open; at the same time the greater part of the crowd, turning round the hotel, rushed upon the Boulevards, and I heard one of those who were upon horseback cry out, "to the gate of the bakehouse! let us go and look for arms!" There was in fact a depôt of arms in the church of the Invalides which was entirely pillaged. The situation in which I was during this movement made it difficult for me to extricate myself. I slowly proceeded towards the Boulevards, but I already perceived that the people stopped the carriages and took out the horses, crying that the cannon must be taken to the Bastile. My turn soon arrived, and I was exposed to real danger. I was pulled from my horse, and thrown into one of the little ditches which were dug between the trees. I quickly got up, seizing the reins of my horse. I spoke to the people who surrounded me in terms that might persuade them that I was one of their party. Some of those who followed the men who had dismounted me, took my part, and helped me to remount. I went some steps with them, and as the crowd proceeded to the gate of the bakehouse, I profited by the opportunity, and escaped as fast as my horse could gallop. Some cried after me, "he is a traitor! stop him!" Several musket-shot were fired at me, but I was too far off for them to reach me, and I arrived at the Hôtel de Lameth. I conversed with my friends on the scenes which I had just witnessed, and of the terrible crisis which they announced. It was evident that the issue would be the triumph of the patriotic party, and would confound the projects of the

enemies of liberty. But the sight of a people in a phrenzy, the wishes and the efforts of the well disposed, mingled with acts of unbounded licentiousness, afflicted all generous hearts, embittered the hatred and just resentment felt toward the evil counsellors, whose pride and rash resistance to public opinion had provoked these disorders. Such, under these circumstances, were the sentiments of my honorable friends, who were afterwards so unjustly accused of having plotted to cause this great riot to break out, and who, well knowing how to distinguish between the cause and the effect of the great national movement, and so many excesses, so many inevitable misfortunes, thought only of means to restore order and confidence. They returned to their post, lately so dangerous, in the national assembly, and I went to rejoin my family in the house where they had taken refuge. My presence quieted their alarms, and I did not quit them except to inform myself of all that was passing, and to judge of it, by my own eyes. I had no other employment, no other public duty to fulfil, but that of director-general of the depôt of maps and military plans. This situation, which had become vacant by the death of M. Devaux, had been given to me a short time before the dissolution of the council of war. It required me to reside at Versailles, and I was preparing to return thither, when general La Fayette, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the civic guard, the formation of which, at first spontaneous, had been provisionally regulated by the assembly of the electors of Paris, requested me to go and see him. A plan for the organisation of the national militia, which the indiscipline and the dissolution of the French corps rendered imperatively necessary, had been proposed by Alexander Lameth to the committee of electors. The general outlines were discussed in a conference which took place at the residence of general La Fayette, and at which Lameth, Barnave, Duport, and some other principal members of the national assembly were present.

Colonel Gouvion, aid-de-camp to the marquis de la Fayette, and his faithful companion in arms during the American war, being called upon by the general to undertake the office of second in command of the national guard of Paris, positively refused at first, insisting on leaving the difficult post to me, for which he was peculiarly qualified,

by his experience, his firmness, and his tried attachment to the person of the commander-in-chief. It was necessary to conquer his modesty, to prove to him that by his situation with respect to the general, he was more popular, and therefore more likely to promote the success of the new organisation, than a superior officer, who had a few days before sat in the council of war, and whose patriotism it would be easy, under such circumstances, to render suspected.

Satisfied with having concurred in inducing the brave Gouvion to this sacrifice, I pointed out some officers of the army among whom were my brother Dumas de Saint Marcel, captain in the regiment of Aquitaine, and my friend Lajard, lieutenant in the regiment of Médoc, as the most proper to exercise the functions of majors of division. Lajard was charged with those of major-general, which he fulfilled with a degree of zeal and judgment which acquired him universal esteem and confidence.

One of the principal advantages of the plan of organisation of the national guard, was the disbanding of the French guards, by the dispersion and incorporation of the sixty companies in the sixty battalions of the national guard. This operation was extremely difficult on account of the relaxed discipline which had prevailed in the corps since the last troubles, in which most of the soldiers had taken part, and on account of the rivalship, the pretensions, and the extravagant demands of the subaltern officers. The serjeants of the French guards really formed a body of well-informed officers, highly respectable for their good conduct. They had acquired that influence over the soldiers which the officers who were more above them, and neglected the details of the service, had gradually lost. Many of them were very anxious for the preservation of the regiment of the French guards, and would not forsake either their colours, their privileges, or their barracks. Higher intrigues were mingled in these warm disputes, and yet it was necessary to avert this storm, which might lead to a crisis, dangerous to the cause of liberty. I seconded M. de la Fayette in this difficult negotiation. Paris was indebted for its success to his firmness, his conciliatory spirit, and the authority of his word. It was owing likewise to the generous zeal of Messrs. Jauge and Cottin, bankers, who on the word of the general advanced about 1,200,000 francs,

being the amount of the sums which were distributed among the French guards, at the moment of their dissolution.

I continued to attend to all the details of the organisation of the national guard of Paris. I wore their uniform, and had inscribed my name in my section, which was called that of Bonnenouvelle, and regularly did duty there; and in the sequel, when the commander-in-chief and his whole staff urged me to take my rank in the staff, I accepted the title and gratuitous functions of adjutant-general and quarter-master, corresponding with the rank which I held in the army.

I am not writing the history of the revolution, in describing which so many cotemporary authors, actors, or eye witnesses, have vied with each other, and which so many others, who did not witness it, have rashly judged, after documents diversely impregnated with the spirit of party. I shall therefore not relate in chronological order the immense labors of the constituent assembly, to which I attended with an interest that was daily increased by the public debates, and by the confidential conversations with those of my intimate friends who took the leading part in them. I shall not say (for posterity alone will be able to judge) what was the influence of the actors on the events, and that of the power of circumstances, and of unforeseen events on the resolutions of the actors. I bring but a slender contribution to this mass of materials, a sincere testimony respecting the acts in which I was personally concerned. I must, however, say, after all that I have seen, and all that I have read of the labors of the constituent assembly, the work of my late honorable friend, count Alexander de Lameth, is that which gives the most correct idea of them. Long after this generation shall have passed away, the spirit of party will cast injurious doubts on the veracity of this narrative, but the more it shall be compared with other documents, the more will it be found free from every illusion, from every artifice, and the more will the assertions of Alexander de Lameth be credited.

In the course of the following month (August) the troubles excited in the city of Rouen having suddenly suspended the arrival of the corn sent from Havre for the supply of Paris, I was sent for by M. Necker, and intrusted

with full powers to restore order there, and re-open the communication which was so important at this crisis.

Returning to Versailles, after having given a satisfactory account of my mission, I resumed my duties as director-general of the war dépôt. The marquis de la Tour du Pin, lieutenant-general, and one of the members of the minority of the nobility, was appointed minister of war. He honored me with his confidence. I was acquainted with his son the count de Gouvernet, an intelligent and very active man, full of zeal for the good cause, whom I had often met at the house of our mutual friends, Mess. de Lameth, and whose sister was married to the marquis de Lameth, the eldest of the four brothers. The count de Gouvernet, (who has since become marquis de la Tour du Pin, peer of France and ambassador to the court of Sardinia) was employed with me, under the surveillance of his father, in drawing up various plans relative to the formation of the army, which were presented by the minister to the king, and afterwards to the national assembly.

Being detained by these occupations, I scarcely ever left Versailles during the whole of September. I lodged in the little Hôtel de la Guerre, in the Rue de l'Orangerie, in the apartments which had been occupied by my predecessor the count de Guibert. I participated in the anxiety which my friends felt on account of the intrigues which were carrying on at the palace, and the fermentation which blind presumption and criminal follies could not fail to excite in the capital. On both sides the agitators desired a crisis; those of the court rendered it inevitable. I was in a box at the famous entertainment given by the guards-du-corps, on the 1st of October, in the theatre of the palace. and I was deeply afflicted by these mad provocations. I had seen too nearly the revolutionary movements of the month of July, to doubt the immediate consequences of this idle attempt to produce a counter-revolution. Such a display must naturally inflame, in the highest degree, the fury of the populace, justify it, if it could be justified, divide or paralyse the influence of the national assembly, and of the armed force, which might be opposed to it. All this happened a few days afterwards.

Of all the narratives of the events of the 5th and 6th of

October, 1789, published by writers of both parties, that of the abbé de Montgaillard appears to me in many respects to be one of the most correct. I will here record, as an eye-witness, the declaration which I would have made, on my honor and conscience, before a court of justice, if I had been called upon to do so. This declaration is, indeed, nothing more than the journal of what I myself saw during the twenty-four hours of the 5th and 6th of October—nothing less and nothing more.

On the 5th, about eleven in the morning, I went with count de Gouvernet to the national assembly. The sitting was not yet opened; while we were talking in the gallery round the amphitheatre with some members, who were our friends, Mirabeau came, and said, as he passed by us, "There is a great commotion in Paris; they are all resolved to march to Versailles." Other members of the assembly spread the same news. M. de Gouvernet and I returned to the residence of his father, the minister of war, to acquaint him with what was passing. I went also to the count de Saint Priest, who was already informed of this movement. We received every hour more and more alarming information. Already a mob of women, who had come from Paris, led by one Maillard, had presented themselves at the bar of the assembly. The insolence of this wretched madman, the vociferations of this vanguard of the great mob, announced the most sinister designs. The crowd increased in the avenue from Paris. The national guard of Versailles assembled on the parade before the palace; it drew up in order of battle, with its left at the iron gate, the right extending in the avenue of Sceaux.

About five o'clock we learnt that the king, who was hunting in the Bois de Meudon, had returned to the palace, and that the national assembly, before it broke up, had sent a deputation to his majesty. The iron gates of the palace had been shut; M. d'Estaing, commander of the national guard of Versailles, had them opened to admit the deputation. The king likewise permitted some of the women to enter, who had accompanied Maillard to to the assembly. I walked about the great court, and saw the gardes-du-corps arrive, who drew up in order of battle, outside the iron gate, facing the avenue to Paris A few minutes afterwards the regiment of Flanders drew up

in a line, with its right to the iron gates, and its left extending towards the avenue of St. Cloud, opposite to the national guard of Versailles. At six o'clock the minister of war, accompanied only by his son and myself; had the gates opened, and put himself at the head of the regiment of Flanders. The crowd covered the whole square, in which, however, we could walk about without difficulty. All eyes were fixed on the grand avenue; the speedy arrival of M. de la Fayette with the national guard of Paris was announced. In the front of the regiment of Flanders I met with several members of the assembly; among others Mirabeau, who stopped for a moment. Night approached, when we distinguished some confusion at the left of the national guard, which was close to the right of the gardes-du-corps. Several musket-shots were fired on that side, and we were informed that M. de Savonnière, an officer of the gardes-du-corps, had just been dangerously wounded. Immediately after this event, I saw the count d'Estaing, on horseback, pass rapidly in front of the gardes-du-corps from right to left, followed by a troop of men and women, who endeavored to overtake him. He traversed close by us, the grenadier company of the regiment of Flanders, and entered the palace by the iron gates of the chapel. The gardes-du-corps fell back, and formed in the great court-yard within the iron gates. The regiment of Flanders was ordered to proceed to its quarters, and I returned to the residence of the minister of war with M. de la Tour du Pin and his son.

Meantime the tumult continued to increase upon the parade. M. de la Tour du Pin and the other ministers went to the king. I remained in the Œil-de-beuf, which was full of persons attached to the court, officers and deputies. The countenances of all expressed the most lively anxiety; the conversation was in whispers; at length, about eleven o'clock at night, notice was brought that the head of the column of the national guard of Paris was already on the parade. The king gave orders to admit M. de la Fayette. I then went down with the count de Gouvernet to meet him. We crossed the great court-yard of the ministers; the gardes-du-corps had been withdrawn from it, and were placed, as we were told, on the terraces next the garden. When we came to the iron gate, which was still shut, we saw M. de la Fayette surrounded by his

staff, and a great number of grenadiers of the national guard, who objected to his entering the palace, unless they were permitted to accompany him. This dispute lasted more than half an hour, the general tranquillised his friends; he told them that the honor of the national guard required that it should give to the king this proof of its attachment and confidence; that he was going in their name to speak the language of peace and security; that he had consented to march at their head, only because such was his conviction; that far from hindering him they would assist him to perform all his duties as a citizen and a faithful subject. On the other hand, M. de Gouvernet and myself, especially as being more known to many of them, seconded the efforts of the general by the most pressing assurances. At length, when M. de la Fayette had persuaded his companions and received their word, the gate was half opened, and being immediately closed, all put their hands through the bars and kept hold of his, so that we had great difficulty in disengaging him. He was so excessively fatigued, that we carried him almost into the apartments. Two commissioners from the commune of Paris, delegated to accompany the general, obtained permission to enter with him, and the king even allowed them to be introduced into the council-chamber. As we passed through the Œil-de-beuf, where a mournful silence prevailed, just as we were going into the levee-room, a knight of St. Louis, of tall stature, said in a loud voice, "*Behold Cromwell!*" Lafayette stopped, and looking at this individual, replied with composure and dignity, "He would not be here alone." We accompanied him to the door of the king's cabinet, and waited in the council-chamber with some persons belonging to the palace, for the end of this memorable audience.

It is well known (and this is an important fact which no contemporary historian duly noticed) that the guard of the place was not confided to general la Fayette; that far from making the laws of a vain etiquette yield to the serious state of affairs, and from abandoning the superior command and the direction of all the measures to be taken, to him who alone could ensure their success, he was merely permitted to cause the outward posts, on the side next the city, which had formerly been held by the French guard, to be occupied by the national guard of

Paris. The count de Luxembourg, who was on duty as captain of the guards, retained the command within the palace, and on the back part, towards the gardens.

When we quitted the king, M. de la Fayette asked the count de Luxembourg, in my presence, what precautions had been taken on the side next the gardens. He answered that the gardes- du-corps were ordered to protect that side. The general was resolved to convince himself, and I went with him to the gallery, whence we saw the main body of the gardes-du-corps assembled on the lawn. On leaving the palace, M. de la Fayette, with general Gouvion and the officers of his staff, saw to the distribution of the posts which had been entrusted to him, and then repaired to the national assembly, as is reported by all the accounts.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 6th of October, I accompanied the general to M. de Montmorin, minister for foreign affairs, and went to wait for him at his residence in the Hôtel de Noailles. Certainly he could not choose a residence nearer the palace, since it is not a hundred paces from this hotel to the iron gates of the chapel. M. de la Fayette returned to his apartment, on the second floor in the Hôtel de Noailles, between four and five o'clock. Gouvion made his report to him on the inspection of the posts, which he had just completed. He told him that all the approaches to the palace were occupied; that every thing was perfectly tranquil, and that the horde of women and banditti, who had come to Versailles, before or at the same time as the national guard, was dispersed. I entered the general's apartment; he was quite exhausted; some refreshment was brought him, while we were conversing on the events of this terrible day, and the measures which he intended to take, to preserve order in the town of Versailles. Far from thinking of taking rest, M. de la Fayette was having his hair dressed by his valet-de-chambre. The day began to break, when I left him to go and take a few moments' repose. As I quitted the room I found general Gouvion lying down across the doorway, in order, as he said, to be ready at the first alarm. I have already said that I lodged in the little Hôtel de la Guerre, in the Rue de l'Orangerie. It was broad daylight when I crossed the court of the ministers from one gate to the other. I perceived the porter of the war de-

partment at the door of the pavilion; I went up to him, and asked if he knew what had become of the group of women who had been permitted to enter the palace the night before, and respecting whom general la Fayette had expressed to me some uneasiness. "I will show you them," said the porter, opening the door of the apartment preceding the audience chamber, and I beheld these miserable creatures lying pell-mell on the floor, in the greatest confusion. I returned home, and had scarcely changed my dress when I heard a loud report of fire-arms. I instantly dressed myself and returned to the palace, where I witnessed the scene that was passing in the marble court. Soon afterwards I perceived in the balcony, in the midst of the royal family, general la Fayette, whom I had quitted scarcely an hour before. His presence, and the august words which he communicated, calmed the popular fury. He announced the king's resolution to go that very day to Paris, and fix his residence in the palace of the Tuileries.

Towards noon, after having seen the departure of the royal family, and the immense multitude withdraw to follow them, I left Versailles, which was already deserted, and taking the St. Cloud road, reached the town-hall, some moments before the king's arrival. Surrounded by a hundred members of the national assembly deputed to accompany him, Louis XVI repaired to the great hall, which resounded with the most lively and cordial acclamations. As soon as silence was restored, he said to M. Bailly, "I return with confidence to my people of Paris;" and as the mayor repeated aloud these august words, the queen raising her voice said, "repeat with confidence, M. Bailly." Immediately afterwards the king and the royal family retired to the Tuileries.

This is all that I saw, and all that I know respecting the events of the 5th and 6th of October, which, on account of the temper of the minds of the people, had so much influence on the result of the proceedings of the national assembly. From that day, the aristocratic opposition of the superior clergy, and of the majority of the nobility, considered the king as a prisoner, the throne as overturned and vacant, all the acts of the royal power as null and void, and the crown of France deposited, as it were, in the hands, and under the protection of the for-

eign armies. On the other hand, a republican party, a faction of levellers, at first insignificant and contemptible, misled the public mind, and became more and more formidable to the friends of well-regulated liberty, under the specious pretext of combatting this opposition, and rendering their own violence necessary to the defence of the rights of the people.

Placed between these two factions, the true patriots were not able to repress the excesses of one, without giving too much advantage to the other, and without remaining themselves disarmed. Such in my opinion were, and I would venture to say, such are still the consequences of of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789.

The irreconcileable enemies of liberty, and more particularly those of M. de la Fayette, have fabricated all sorts of plots respecting these fatal events, and being unable to construct one, except upon rash conjectures, they have satiated their vengeance and their resentment, by loading the general with a responsibility which he had not incurred, and which had been refused him. After having rejected his guarantee, he could not be calumniated except by accusing him of negligence, and his enemies have succeeded in accrediting, or handing down to posterity a fact absolutely false. Forty years afterwards we have heard of his tranquil sleep while attempts were made on the lives of the royal family. I have stated sincerely, I have demonstrated hour by hour, how general la Fayette spent every moment, and all his acts, from his arrival at Versailles, in the evening of the 5th of October, till broad daylight on the 6th. Let his calumniators therefore prove how and when he had an opportunity to indulge in sleep.

The invasion of part of the palace, the attack on the gardes-du-corps, the execrable crime committed in the apartment of the queen, by a horde of banditti, all this has seemed unaccountable, except on the supposition of a preconceived plot, which the most interesting researches, the most scrupulous judicial inquiries have not been able to discover. People always persist in imagining that the most memorable events, whether fortunate or fatal, must have had profound motives, or mysterious causes, and will not allow that faults of a very ordinary nature, mere negligences, even chance itself, can have given occasion to these great events. Yet history assures us that such is the

case, and we are obliged to acknowledge it, when we seek for truth. I will quote on this subject the fact which has afforded me the clearest idea of the matter.

One of the gardes-du-corps, who courageously defended the door of the queen's apartment, the same without doubt who is mentioned by the marquis de Ferrières in his Memoirs, Miomandre de Sainte Marie, nephew of the abbé Haüy, the celebrated professor of natural history, had been severely wounded in the head. His recovery was for some time despaired of. General la Fayette, being informed of his approaching cure, went to visit him. I accompanied him. The general asked him if he recollected what had passed before the moment when he was attacked, and how the assassins had been able to penetrate to her majesty's apartments. This officer told us, that at day-break all was quiet in the garden; that he had placed himself at the window, looking on the terrace towards the orangery with some of his comrades; that soon after he had perceived several shabbily-dressed men, armed with muskets, who were looking at the windows of the palace, and were advancing towards the passage at the foot of the marble stair-case; that these same men had made a sign to others, who were further off, to follow them; that a greater number, coming from the gardens, had hastened up, and had ascended to the marble staircase so rapidly, that his comrades, taken by surprise, had run to arms and defended themselves by making a barricade of every thing they could find; that he himself had scarcely had time to enter the queen's apartments to give warning, by crying, "Save the queen!" and that at length the door having been forced by these wretches, he had been assaulted, and thrown down by a blow on the head. This testimony appeared to us to confirm what we already knew, that the retreat of the squadrons of the gardes-du-corps, which had passed part of the night in the gardens, had left free, and without defence, the several issues towards the farm of the menagerie, on the road to Saint Cyr. Yet it was there that vigilance was the most necessary and might have been the most easily exercised by a corps of cavalry. General la Fayette had been forbidden to make any arrangements on that side, while all the other posts round the palace were occupied by the national guard, and the whole town traversed by patrols. This horde of villains,

the same which from the commencement of the troubles wandered about, and appeared in all the tumults, would have been dispersed and driven into the country. Would it ever have been able to have penetrated into the gardens and to collect there, if the gardes-du-corps had remained, and kept a proper look out?

The most fatal effects of the unhappy days of the 5th and 6th of October were the divisions and the dissentions which broke out among the members of the majority of the constituent assembly. Some of the most illustrious orators, and who had taken the greatest share in the first resolutions of the assembly, withdrew, and by thus abandoning their post, appeared to intend to stigmatise their own work. Others appeared too sensible to the outrageous reproaches of the opposition, and affecting an unseasonable moderation, suffered hateful suspicions to rest upon the energetic and blameless men with whom they ought to have remained indissolubly united. It is but too true, and will always be seen in politics as in war, that in good fortune every one claims the best part of the success, and that in ill fortune the blame is thrown upon one man.

I will not here dwell on the intrigues by which attempts were so often made, and not without success, to excite discord. I had, and I have kept to this day, friends in both the sections of the patriotic party, and I was sometimes so happy as to serve as mediator between them.

It was in these stormy circumstances that the national guard of Paris, and its excellent commander, rendered the most eminent services to the country, by preserving good order amidst the general agitation. It was a difficult task. The assembly hastening to lay the foundations of a new constitution, was discussing the most important questions, those which affected the highest, the most numerous, the most complicated interests, such as the allotment of the taxes, the alienation of church property, the reform of the parliaments, &c. The most inveterate attacks were every day directed against privileges, abuses and the most deeply rooted prejudices. Public attention was so completely upon the stretch, the passions were so violently excited that the agents of disturbances, who were still very numerous, had no want either of opportunity or of aliment to inflame the minds of the people. The slightest accident caused a tumult in this immense

population, which had become so restless, and the wretches who were kept in awe or dispersed in the capital, left it, and committed all kinds of excesses in the country. General la Fayette, who had constantly refused to accept the command of the national guards of the departments, which was offered him on all hands, took, by the king's order, the command of the environs of Paris, for twenty miles round, to maintain the police and security, which are so necessary for the supply of the capital. In my capacity as quarter-master-general, I was directed to organise the means of a vigilant superintendence without the walls, and to despatch orders to the troops of the line and the brigades of Maréchaussée, cantoned there. These measures had all the success that could be expected.

I was employed in the numerous details of this correspondence, and continued likewise, with the minister of war, to draw up the plan, which was to be laid before the military committee for the new ordinances, relative to the organisation of the army, when the constituent assembly opened the discussions on the fixing the boundaries of the departments. I was consulted on this subject by Bureau de Pusy, a member of the assembly, who was commissioned to draw up the report, one of our most able engineers, and no less distinguished by his patriotic virtues than his talents. As soon as the new demarkation was decreed, the king named commissioners to organise each department. I was chosen for the formation of that of Seine and Marne, and went to Melun to join my colleagues MM. Segrettier and du Tremblay. This great operation, executed at the same time in all the provinces of the kingdom, was at once the strongest trial and the most evident popular sanction of the new system, introduced by the revolution into our laws and our manners. In truth this homogeneousness of administrative and judicial forms facilitated in the sequel, under the consulate and the empire, the re-establishment of absolute power, when anarchy had completed the corruption of liberty; but this new face of France, these material foundations of our liberty, have remained unshaken, and are still the most solid guarantee of political equality, and of the representative form of government.

While the constituent assembly was thus effacing the

very last traces of the ancient regime, and without deviating from the principles of limited monarchy, was enlarging the basis of the new institutions by overthrowing all obstacles, the opposition of the nobility and the clergy redoubled its efforts, rallied the discontented, and called to its aid all those whose interests were affected by such great changes. The civil constitution of the clergy, into which the patriotic party had been misled by the spirit of sectarianism and the inconsiderate zeal of some Jansenists, became the most dangerous ferment of discord and civil war. Wherever the priests succeeded in rousing fanatacism, which was too rashly supposed to be stifled by philosophical ideas, the aristocracy found zealous auxiliaries. The fire was lurking under the ashes; the first troubles broke out in the south. Some members of the assembly, especially the count de Lautrec, viscount de Mirabeau, and some others were engaged in these plots.

The principal focus was at Montauban, where several patriots, especially Protestants, had been massacred in a popular tumult. Forty others, almost all merchants and of the Protestant religion, were imprisoned and threatened with being sacrificed to the rage of the counter-revolutionary party. This event had excited the indignation of the city of Bordeaux, whose national guard, encouraged by the society of friends of the constitution, had taken arms and marched towards Montauban. Four thousand men of this guard, under the command of M. de Courpont, had already advanced towards Moissac with cannon and ammunition. The count d'Espârbés, lieutenant-general and commander in Perigord, who resided at Montauban, had under his orders the regiment of Languedoc. and was making preparations for defence. The population of Toulouse was in great agitation: one of the legions of the national guard had taken part with the counter-revolutionists. The patriots, who were the most numerous in the other legions, supported the municipal authorities. The count de Lautrec had been arrested and taken to the capitol, where he was strictly guarded. Similar disorders took place at Nîsmes. Viscount Mirabeau had gone to his regiment, which was in garrison at Perpignan, and was endeavoring to seduce it. In this state of things I was directed to go to Bordeaux to lieutenant-general de Vertueil, who had distinguished himself in our former

wars, no less by brilliant actions, than by his firm and conciliatory character, and who was highly esteemed in his province, to whom I was to deliver orders to take the chief command in the provinces of Guyenne, Perigord, and Upper Languedoc, and to make all the arrangements which he should judge proper to check this dangerous explosion. I proceeded with all haste to Bourdeaux with my brother-in-law, Delarue, aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette. I did not find M. de Vertueil, who was at his estate of St. Croix. After having collected from the magistrates and from the most influential persons the information which I required, I did not delay a moment to join M. de Verteuil at St. Croix. I was to command under him and act as chief of the staff.

I found M. de Verteuil dangerously ill, and was introduced to him by his son, a captain in the regiment of Piedmont. I delivered to him the king's orders and the instructions from the minister, and explained to him the object of my mission and the situation of the city of Bordeaux, where extreme fermentation prevailed. They were preparing for the departure of the national guard. The worthy old man, who appeared to me very calm, received me kindly, listened to me with attention, and said, some moments afterwards, "It is nothing, my dear colonel; with a corporal and four men I will undertake to settle all this." He put the despatches under his pillow, and invited me to rest myself. I left the apartment with his son, who seeing, like myself, that it was impossible his father should fulfil the mission of the government, seized a favorable moment and brought me back the despatches which I had delivered to the general. I immediately resolved to proceed to Moissac and to present myself to the army of Bordeaux as furnished with full powers, and without speaking of M. de Verteuil, who died a few days afterwards.

I was very well received at Moissac by M. de Courpont and all his officers. I had in my hands the king's orders, which nobody thought of desiring to read. All loudly demanded to march to Montauban: I had much trouble to persuade them to let me go alone and to wait for the orders which I would speedily send them. They insisted on giving me a strong escort of cavalry. I refused, and

positively ordered M. de Courpont not to permit a single man of his troops to pass the line of outposts which I prescribed.

On arriving at Montauban, I repaired to the count d'Espârbés. I acquainted him with the intentions of the king, the state in which I had left M. de Verteuil, and the uselessness of the arrangements which he had made. I endeavored to persuade him to retire to his country-seat some leagues from Montauban, taking on myself all the responsibility of events. I had the good fortune to induce him to yield to my persuasions, and thus I removed the first and the greatest obstacles to my projects of pacification.

I immediately caused the municipal council to be assembled; I required that all the persons committed to prison should be delivered up to me. I soon perceived the embarrassment of the leaders; the bad intentions of some, and the underhand intrigues of the counter-revolutionists who had excited the insurrection. A great number of furious fanatics surrounded the prison, and demanded with loud cries that the victims who had escaped them should be delivered up. I could not venture to employ the armed force, the regiment of Languedoc, without running the risk of occasioning a tumult which would have endangered the lives of the prisoners and have certainly kindled a civil war, on account of the proximity of the army of Bordeaux, which nothing could have kept in awe. The families of the unhappy prisoners came and threw themselves at my feet. I advised them, in case I should be able to deliver up the prisoners, to keep them in their houses, and not let any of them go to take refuge in the camp of the Bordelais. I ordered the regiment to its barracks at the extremity of the faubourg of Ville Bourbon, and ordered the municipality to accompany me to the prison, which was opposite a church. A soon as I appeared in the midst of the crowd, profound silence prevailed. I myself published, in the name of the national assembly and of the king, the order to deliver up the prisoners to me. I harangued the people, and excited pity: I adjured the priests to give me their assistance, and showed the dangers which threatened the town, and the firm resolution of the national assembly to repress these seditious

movements, and to avert from this fine country and this industrious city the calamities of war, which ill-disposed persons, the only enemies of the people, desired to kindle.

Immediately taking advantage of the impression which I had made, I caused all the prisoners to quit the prison one by one, each accompanied to his own house by the municipal officers, and without any other escort. This operation took nearly two hours. The majority of well-disposed persons declared their sentiments by acclamations, and I was conducted to my residence with every mark of public satisfaction. During the night I sent for some heads of families who were pointed out to me as having the most influence. I repeated to them my recommendation to prevent all communication with the Bordelais, and yet, notwithstanding my injunctions, some of the youngest of the prisoners who had been released, whether they were frightened and apprehended being again arrested, or animated by a spirit of revenge, hastened to Moissac, to join the army of Bordeaux, which they excited to march against Montauban. On the following day some other young men of the Bordeaux army ventured to come to Montauban. One of them, having been recognised, was seized by some violent persons, and it was with great difficulty that he was delivered from them and conducted to the court of justice, situated near the bridge over the Tarn. The people assembled tumultuously, and wanted to tear him from this asylum; I immediately hastened to the spot with my brother-in-law, who was my aid-de-camp. We employed all our efforts to calm the people, and make them sensible of the consequences of this violation of the law. I thought I had succeeded, and passed through the crowd, holding the young man by the arm, to lead him across the bridge and make him set out before me for Moissac; but when I had reached the middle of the bridge, a number of these wretches pressed about us uttering cries of vengeance. I took the young man in my arms, and holding him fast, endeavored to open a passage. Some worthy citizens tried to assist us, while the seditious, throwing them down to get to us, cried, "Throw them all three into the river!" In this manner we crossed the bridge. As I was entering the suburb, a postilion despatched by M. de Courpont, the commander of the army of Bordeaux, galloped up to me and delivered a parcel.

This attracted attention. I took the letter, opened it immediately, and glancing over the first lines, I saw that it acquainted me with the fermentation which the arrival of the prisoners had excited among the troops. I did not hesitate to read this despatch aloud, but in a sense quite contrary to its real contents. That is to say, I published in a loud voice congratulations, assurances of peace, and of fraternity. This announcement was received with applause, and I took advantage of this sudden change in the temper of the people to release my prisoner, and send him to the barracks at the extremity of the suburb, escorted only by my aid-de-camp Delarue. I then despatched the latter to Moissac to announce that tranquillity was perfectly restored at Montauban, and that I sent back the young man who had got himself into trouble. The Bordelais withdrew on the following day, and returned to Bordeaux.

A few days afterwards I received the answer of the minister, and letters patent investing me with the command of the three provinces. I immediately repaired to Toulouse, and alighted at the Capitol where M. de Lautrec was strictly guarded, and threatened by a crowd assembled in the square, who demanded his head. This respectable old man was composed, and his daughter supported him in her arms. She almost threw herself at my feet. The municipality were assembled. I announced the orders of the king and the decree of the national assembly, which summoned M. de Lautrec to Paris. I said that I was going to send him away, and that he was to be escorted by the national guard. The day passed amidst great agitation. I was informed that M. de Clarac, a general officer, was on the following day to put himself at the head of the party of the national guard, which was entirely devoted to the members of the ancient parliament, in order to carry off M. de Lautrec by force, and that a great number of the inhabitants of the country was to enter the town and assist him in executing this coup-de-main. On the other hand some companies of the national guard, in which there were many Protestants, were preparing to take arms. The latter were excited by the preaching of Jean Bon Saint André, one of their most influential ministers. I sent for M. de Clarac, inviting him to come to me. I represented to him the folly and temerity of his enter-

prise, and the imminent danger to which he exposed his friend M. de Lautrec, and acquainted him with the measures I had adopted, and induced him to renounce his plans. He gave me his word of honor and left the town. In the morning I made the national guard take arms, and did not leave M. de Lautrec till I had seen him put into a carriage and had provided for his safety. The minister Jean Bon Saint André came to me and required me to make the patriots easy by dissolving the parliamentary legion, and causing the officer whom he pointed out to me to be arrested. I had much more difficulty in quieting this violent man than I had had with M. de Clarac. "It is the day of vengeance," said he, "for which we have been waiting above a hundred years."

I had scarcely allayed these troubles and re-established order at Toulouse, when I received intelligence of the massacres which had taken place at Nîmes, and orders to repair to that city as soon as possible. I did not lose a moment. At Castel Naudary I met viscount de Mirabeau, who was returning from Perpignan to Toulouse after having failed in his enterprise. I informed him of all that had just passed, and told him that happily all the threads were broken, that his friend M. de Lautrec, to whose assistance he was doubtless coming, was released and on his way to Paris. He himself proceeded immediately to that city, without passing through Toulouse.

On arriving at Montpellier, at my father's, I learned that the troubles at Nîmes were allayed, and that my presence there would be superfluous. I was not, however, able to take more than a few hours' repose in the bosom of my family, being overtaken by an express from the municipality of Toulouse, who urged me to return, on account of the new explosion with which the city was threatened. I therefore turned back with the same expedition that I quitted that city. At Narbonne I had a singular meeting. A lady carefully veiled, and alone in a little cabriolet, was going the same road as myself, and insisted that the horses should be put to her carriage before mine. I went up to tell her the motive of my refusal, and to excuse myself for not showing her such a trifling civility; it was Madame Dusaillant, the sister of M. de Mirabeau, who had left Paris in this manner, and was hastening after the viscount, her brother, whom she had not met with at Perpignan.

The fears of the municipality of Toulouse had no other foundation than false bravadoes of the counter-revolutionists; it was the swell after the storm. I stopped only two days, and returned to Montauban, the mayor of which town had been summoned by the national assembly, to give an account of his conduct. In short, all the troubles having been put an end to, I asked, and obtained permission to return to Paris by the time of the federation, at which, however, I was prevented from being present by a violent quinsy, produced by excessive fatigue during the mission which I had just accomplished.

A short time afterwards I was summoned to the military committee of the national assembly, to discuss before general officers of all arms, and officers of engineers and artillery, the great question of the union of the engineers and the artillery, and that of the composition of the corps of the staff, and the functions which ought to be assigned to it during peace and during war. My opinion differed from that of the engineer d'Arçon, one of the most distinguished and learned officers of the engineers. But d'Arçon in vain endeavored to introduce the system which he had long meditated: that of the formation of a special corps of the staff, and the respective limitation of the diverse attributions of three corps prevailed. I was also employed by the military committee in various matters relative to the new formation of the army, which was then decided, according to the excellent report, made to the national assembly by Alexander Lameth. The primary assemblies having been formed for the election of justices of the peace and other public officers, I was elected president of that of the arrondissement of Corbeil, in the department of Seine and Oise.

This simultaneous formation of the primary assemblies confirmed public spirit, and regulated its movements, putting into practice the principles and theories of constitutional government, and gave to all the classes of citizens a sense of the advantages of political equality. If the constituent assembly thereby acquired more strength and authority, the enemies of the new order of things were the more ardent in impeding, by all sorts of intrigues and audacious attempts, the success of the great work which was already nearly consummated. They endeavored to renew in Alsace, with greater resources, the plots which

had already been defeated in the south. In the month of February, 1791, a considerable number of emigrants, assembled at Offenburgh, on the right bank of the Rhine, whither the cardinal de Rohan, late bishop of Strasbourg, had retired, had succeeded in agitating the departments of the east. The difference of opinion respecting the civil constitution of the clergy had served as a pretext, and powerfully favored the political intrigue which tended to nothing less than to separate Alsace, by delivering the frontier fortresses of Huningen and Landau to the counter-revolutionists, and they perhaps flattered themselves with making themselves masters of Strasbourg, the command of which was entrusted to M. de Klinglin, and where the clergy and the monks had procured them many friends and secret correspondents. These intrigues and projects were connected with that of carrying off the king and taking him to Metz. The marquis de Bouillé, who had the chief command in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, was probably no stranger to these dangerous manœuvres, the success of which would have kindled civil war, and certainly have brought foreign armies into the heart of France. These considerations induced the resolution of the national assembly to send commissioners of the king, invested with full powers, to Alsace, and the departments of the Upper and Lower Rhine. I was appointed president of this commission. M. Hérault de Séchelles, formerly advocate general in the parliament of Paris, and M. Foissey, attorney general to the parliament of Nancy, composed with me this commission. Before my departure from Paris, general la Fayette, made easy by his correspondence with M. de Bouillé, told me that the latter would not fail to support, by the weight of his authority, the operations of the commission. M. de Bouillé was then at Strasbourg; as soon as he was informed of the nomination of the commissioners, he returned to Metz. On my arrival at Nancy with Hérault de Sechelles to join our colleague M. Foissey, I there met with an officer of the staff of M. de Bouillé. This was M. Desoteux, my old friend and comrade in America, the same who a short time afterwards emigrated with his general, and was in the sequel one of the chiefs of La Vendée, under the name of Comartin. The reproaches which he made me for my political conduct, the warmth with which

he urged me not to implicate myself any further in the mission which was entrusted to me, all that he said of the loyal intentions of M. de Bouillé, left me no doubt of the views of that general. I wrote to him to invite him, for the sake of the public peace, to come to Strasbourg, in order to support by his presence, and by the influence of the military authority, the measures which the commissioners might have to take on occasions of difficulty. I gave my letter to Desoteux, and continued my journey with my colleagues. M. de Bouillé returned me no answer, remained at Metz, and contented himself with giving some ostensible instructions to M. de Klinglin.

The arrival of the king's commissioners encouraged the constitutional party, at the head of which were M. de Dietrich, mayor of Strasbourg, and the most distinguished citizens of that city, where the purest and most prudent patriotism has always contended against extreme parties. We were received with much politeness by M. de Klinglin; he acceded to all our demands, when it was necessary to employ the troops, and the exertions of the superior military police, but it was always with a cold reserve, through which it was easy to see his opinions and his vexation. We summoned the priests of the several parishes to appear before the commissioners, and I entrusted them to employ their ministry in quieting the people's minds. I was at least satisfied with their submission, and some of them sincerely supported us. I pursued rigorously the monks of all descriptions, who hawked about the pastoral letters of the archbishop and the proclamations of the emigrants. I caused them to be arrested and searched on the roads by patrols of gens-d'armes, and they were then taken back to their convents. This vigilance sufficed to intercept and break off the correspondence with the other side of the Rhine, and we had no occasion to exercise any other act of severity. Only one community in Strasbourg, that of the Recollets, resolved to evacuate its convent, and marched in procession towards the bridge over the Rhine, preceded by the crucifixes, which were borne reversed. They were conducted back to their convent, with orders not to leave it. I sent for the superior, a sensible man, and succeeded in convincing him, that after this fanatic act of submission to his ancient bishop, he ought to submit to the law of his country.

Meantime more serious disturbance had broken out at Colmar, the capital of the department of the Upper Rhine. The priests who had not taken the oath, and the monks, had drawn together a considerable number of malcontents, and the viscount de Mirabeau, called Mirabeau Tonneau, who had quitted the assembly and fled to Offenbourg, where he was forming a legion, had just introduced a troop of these banditti into Colmar. The prince de Broglie and the advocate Reubell, deputies for Alsace, with whom I corresponded, urged us to go as soon as possible to Colmar, to give confidence to the patriots and prevent an explosion. I repaired thither with my two colleagues. We had scarcely alighted at an inn in the square, when a considerable crowd came by three streets at once, vociferating, "down with the Jacobins! down with the commissioners!" and threatened to attack the few national guards who were before the door of the inn. I immediately resolved to have all the windows lighted up, and invited my colleagues to show themselves with me, at the window of the apartment which we occupied. There was a moment's silence. I addressed a few words to this riotous populace, speaking in the name of the king, and of the assembly. My colleagues seconded me. The national guard remained firm, and kept off for some moments the most violent of the mob, who attempted to force their way into the house. Some voice cried, "fire at them! fire at them!" Meantime the national guard was assembling, when suddenly a troop of watermen of the island, armed with their boat-hooks, and led by one of their principal men, named Stockmayer, advanced through the street towards the suburb on the road to Mulhausen, and fell upon the mob, which was dispersed in a moment. We were released from danger, and the magistrates took without opposition, all the measures which were necessary to preserve public tranquillity. The brave Stockmayer received our thanks and the congratulations of his fellow-citizens. The banditti, who had already taken the name of Company of Artois, left the city and did not again show themselves. We returned to Strasbourg, where general Kellermann soon arrived, to take command of the troops in the two departments. His firmness and patriotism neutralised the influence of the governor of Strasbourg, and gave confidence to those of the other fortresses. I

was informed that parleys between the superior officers of the garrison of Landau and the emigrants cantoned at Worms, gave reason to apprehend that that important place would be delivered to the enemy. I went thither with general Kellermann, and in the very night of our arrival these superior officers and a great many others emigrated. The general went with me to the Society of Friends of the Constitution; we encouraged the party of the patriots, and order was completely restored. General Kellermann convinced himself of the fidelity of the officers who had remained; that of the subalterns and privates was never doubtful.

The same alarms and the same results took place at Hüningen. I had with me on these excursions young Desaix, then lieutenant in a regiment of infantry in garrison at Strasbourg. He had offered to serve as my aid-de-camp, with my brother-in-law Delarue. Desaix was intimately connected with my family; his character, his devotion to the cause of liberty, his good understanding had induced me to receive him, and he never ceased to give me proofs of gratitude and friendship till the very day, when, after having distinguished himself by his rare military talents and great services, he fell gloriously on the field of Marengo, and was taken from France when deciding the victory,

The mission of the king's commissioners in Alsace lasted nearly four months. On my return to Paris, after having given an account of my conduct to the minister, I had spent some days at my country-house of Soisy-sous-Etioles, when I received by an express, sent to me by my friends, the very unexpected news of the departure of the king. I hastened to Paris; it was soon learnt there that the king had been stopped at Varennes, and that they were bringing him back to the capital. I was summoned to a committee of the principal members of the national assembly, where I met the marshal de Rochambeau. The measures to be adopted under these circumstances were discussed. The assembly, unanimous on this occasion to maintain the monarchical principle and the respect due to the royal family, decreed that three commissioners, members of the assembly, should go to meet the king to provide for his safety, and that a superior officer should accompany them and take, till the return of the king to

Paris, the command of all the troops, which it was foreseen would collect on the road by which he passed. By the same decree I was appointed to this command. The three commissioners were Messrs. Barnave, Pétion, and Latour Maubourg.

Though fully convinced that the task imposed upon me was the duty both of a good citizen and of a loyal subject, I had at first much difficulty in sacrificing to the good of my country and to the safety of the royal family, the repugnance which I felt for this painful mission. I accepted it only on the entreaties of the most distinguished members, both of the majority and minority of this assembly; I was especially decided by the advice of the chevalier de Coigny, one of the most devoted and most faithful servants of the king, and that of the archbishop of Bourges, brother of my honorable friend the count de Puységur.

On the 23d of June, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the three commissioners and myself took the road to Châlons-sur-Marne, and travelled with all speed, not stopping till we perceived, between Château Thierry and Châlons, two leagues beyond Dormans, the carriages of their majesties, escorted by national guards on foot and on horseback. The latter had taken at Châlons the horses belonging to the gardes-du-corps who were in garrison there. The first carriage was a berlin, in which were the king, the queen, the dauphin, the princess royal, the princess Elizabeth, and Madame de Tourzel, governess of the children of France. In the second carriage were two ladies in the queen's service. Three gardes-du-corps, in the dress of couriers and wearing a yellow livery, were on the box of the berlin.

The instant we alighted, the carriages were stopped at the foot of a small eminence near the left bank of the Marne: both the doors of the berlin were open: a tumultuous crowd surrounded the carriage, but on being informed that we were commissioners of the assembly they gave place.

On going up to the carriage, I stood at the side of Barnave, who presented to the king the decree of the assembly. His majesty read it aloud, and said, "Gentlemen, I am very happy to see you. I did not wish to leave my kingdom. I was going to Montmédy, and was to remain there till I might have examined and freely ac-

cepted the new constitution." Barnave said to me, in an under-tone, "If the king remembers to repeat the same thing we shall save him." I was close to the princess Elizabeth, who occupied the back seat of the carriage, opposite to the king. Laying her hand on my arm, she said, "We are very glad, M. Dumas, that you have been charged with this commission. We would recommend to your care the three persons who accompany us: watch over them, that they be not separated from us."

Meantime Barnave had mounted the coach-box: a profound silence prevailed, and he proclaimed the decree of the assembly, twice repeating that I was charged with the command of the escort, and was to be obeyed. Barnave and Pétion, after repeated invitations from their majesties, both took their seats in the berlin, which thus contained eight persons inside. The three gardes-du-corps or couriers mounted the coach-box. Latour Maubourg got into the second carriage, and I mounted my horse. I tried to effect something like order among the national guard and the multitude, some with arms and some without amounting to about two thousand persons, and we set out at a walking pace, as the infantry, who preceded us and covered the road, did not permit us to proceed faster.

Night approached: the crowd pressed round the king's carriage, and the postilions found it difficult to advance. I observed much confusion, and heard very animated conversation. I alighted, and walked at the head of the horses, in order to clear the way. At this moment a man in the uniform of the national guard, and whom I did not recognise at first, came up to me, and said, in a whisper, "I am Everard, formerly valet-de-chambre to M. de Ségur in America;" and he added, "these people who have come from Reims distrust you: they think of doing you some mischief; they say that Bouillé is coming along the other side of the Marne to carry off the king." Almost at the same moment Latour Maubourg stepped out of the second carriage, and placed himself by my side. He had heard some threatening speeches: thus we proceeded till within one league of Dormans, whither I had already sent a messenger to direct the mayor to prepare apartments at the post-office for the royal family. I gave orders to halt in a valley, where the road is crossed by a small river. I commanded silence, and declared that in consequence of the

information which I had received, and to prevent any surprise during the night, the royal family would stop at Dormans, where several battalions of the national guard of the environs were assembling; that in order to cover the king's quarters, I was going to have a position taken behind the stream; that only a part of the escort would accompany the carriage to Dormans, and that all the rest was going to form a bivouac, and to light fires in as good order as possible. These arrangements allayed the fermentation; veterans who had united with me, assisted me in carring them into effect. We arrived quietly at Dormans at half-past nine in the evening. This small town was already illuminated; the municipal authority had performed its duty, the lodgings were prepared, and the royal family quartered in them. An apartment had been reserved for the commissioners and myself, close to those of their majesties. I had the berlin placed in the centre of the court-yard of the inn, the doors locked, and the keys sent to the queen. I placed by the carriage four sentinels of the national guard of Dormans, for whom in concert with the mayor I had reserved the post of honor. These sentinels were not relieved during the night; I ordered my aid-de-camp Delarue to look after them, and prohibited their letting any person but himself approach the carriage. I immediately sent my brother-in-law to receive the orders of the queen, and to take to her himself every thing which she might wish for. These precautions were necessary to prevent curiosity. The queen returned the keys of the carriage to M. Delarue, and told him to bring her a casket and some other articles. My brother-in-law executed his commission without mystery: had another medium been employed, suspicion would doubtless have been excited. The crowd assembled in front of the inn, keeping a respectful silence, and not losing sight of the carriage.

At supper, the king politely sent us a bottle of his tokay. I passed the whole of the night in traversing the town, directing the patrols in the environs, reconnoitring, and placing battalions of the national guard, who, long before the break of day flocked in from all parts. I sent word to those whom I had left as a rear-guard, a league from Dormans, that every thing was perfectly quiet, and that the king would set out early, escorted by numerous detachments of national guards. * In fact, after having taken

his majesty's orders, we set out again on the 24th of June, at seven o'clock in the morning.

I have already observed, that the town of Dormans was full of national guards to the number of at least 10,000. I had them drawn up on the right and left of the road to Paris. The carriages passed slowly between the two lines; the troops presented arms; the king was saluted by lowering the colours, and complimented by several municipalities who had accompanied these battalions.

Satisfied with this temper of the minds of the people, I flatted myself that I should be able to continue our journey rapidly, and without embarrassment, but all these national guards persisted in following the king's carriage, to escort him, as they all said, as far as Paris. I in vain endeavored to leave behind me this army, which increased every moment. In this manner we arrived at Château Thierry, when I saw M. Garnier, an officer of cavalry, whom I had known in Flanders, come to meet me. He brought with him a very fine squadron of the national guard of Soissons. I hastened to explain to him the embarrassing position in which I was, and the service which he could render by stopping, at the foot of the mountain of Château Thierry, this mass of infantry while we were changing horses. The crowding of the national guards and of the people, which covered the right bank of the Marne near the bridge, favored my project. Garnier's squadron, opening itself a passage, conducted us to the relay at the foot of the mountain. I caused the horses to be changed as quickly as possible, while the cavalry blocked up the road. Garnier stood firm, hindered the infantry from passing the carriages, and gave us time to proceed at a quick rate, and without obstacle to Ferté-sous-Jouarre. M. Regnard, mayor of that town, to whom I had sent a courier, had the honor to receive the royal family, and to procure them some hours rest under his roof. Madame Regnard, plainly dressed, with a bunch of keys suspended from her girdle, like a housekeeper, received and waited on the royal personages with the most zealous, respectful, and delicate attention. I was very much fatigued, and extremely glad that I was not obliged to see to what was passing in the town. Perfect

order prevailed there, though it was filled with an immense concourse of people. I recollect that as I was walking round the garden of the agreeable residence of M. Regnard, I looked with a lively and deep interest at the children of France, the dauphin and the princess royal, who were walking about free from every apprehension of impending danger.

Towards evening we continued our journey, without being impeded by too numerous an escort, and reached Meaux, where apartments for their majesties had been prepared in the episcopal palace. Here there was a greater conflux of people than we had yet met with. The grenadiers of the national guard did duty, both within and without the palace. The king's chamber and those adjoining, prepared for the queen, Madame Elizabeth and the children, were preceded by a very large ante-chamber, which was soon filled with national guards and other persons of the town and neighborhood. In a second room, where the table was laid out for their majesties, were the three gardes-du-corps. I had given strict orders that no other persons should be permitted to enter. The heat was excessive and the king had caused all the doors to be opened. He was himself in shirt-sleeves, seated near a table, and did not withdraw himself from the curiosity of the crowd, who hastened to see his majesty from the first apartment, and without passing the sentinels. An hour after our arrival the king sent for me and said, "Dumas, have sentinels been placed next the garden?" I replied that I had caused them to be placed in my own presence, and had given them the watchword. "Well," added the king, "beyond this wardrobe there is a staircase which leads into the garden, see where it comes out." I went down and returned to inform his majesty that there was a sentinel at the foot of the staircase. As I was retiring, the queen seeing me pass before her room, came to the door and beckoned me to draw near. I stopped at the threshold. "What news have you from Paris?" "The fermentation has been very great, but public order has been preserved. The return of their majesties is impatiently expected." I bowed and went to confer with the commissioners respecting to-morrow's journey and our return to Paris, after the information given by M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette.

Up to this time their majesties and the royal family had experienced nothing but the annoyances inevitable under such circumstances, and the importunity of an immense concourse of people and armed men whom different sentiments, but chiefly curiosity, attracted to see them pass. Since the arrival of the commissioners of the assembly no seditious cries, no insults, had aggravated their unhappy situation; and notwithstanding the disorder, which it had not always been possible to prevent, no individual had approached their persons but with the respect which was their due. It was not the same with the three gardes-du-corps, whom the people accused very unjustly of being the principal agents in the king's escape. Their disguise increased the irritation, and I had reason to fear that as we approached the capital their presence would serve as a pretext for fatal acts of violence.

After the king had supped and all the royal family had retired to their apartments, when I had arranged the patrols, and had completely gone my rounds, I went to rejoin the commissioners in the chamber which had been reserved for me, opposite the king's apartment. I there found count François de Jaucourt, one of my oldest friends, and who, being a land owner in the department of the Seine and Marne, was highly respected there. He had come to offer his services to the deputation. He gave us useful information, and allayed our fears respecting the dispositions of the surrounding population, and especially of the national guard of Meaux. I expressed the uneasiness which the presence of the three gardes-du-corps gave me, and the necessity in which I was notwithstanding placed, to execute the orders which their majesties had given me, to reserve their places for them on the box of the berlin. I thought of changing their couriers' dress for the uniform of the grenadiers of the national guard. Jaucourt caused every thing necessary for this disguise to be brought secretly into my chamber; but the difficulty was not yet vanquished; the permission of the king was to be obtained, and I had the misfortune to fail in this attempt. Very early in the morning, when preparations for our departure were making, the queen sent for me; she seemed deeply affected, and asked me if I knew what arrangements M. de la Fayette had made for the king's entrance into Paris, and by which route he was to go to the

Tuileries. I replied that, according to my information, the king's carriage would proceed by the outer boulevards, to enter by the Barrière de l'Etoile, les Champs Elisées, and the garden. "And why this roundabout way," said she coldly, "since all is tranquil at Paris?—why should not the king go direct to his palace?" "I do not conceive, madam," I replied, "any other motives than the certainty of defeating the projects of the ill-disposed, by arriving more speedily, by a road where there are scarcely any houses." "I understand you," answered the queen. Taking advantage of this first impression, I stated to her majesty in the presence of madame Elizabeth the inconvenience and inutility of showing on the box of the king's carriage the three couriers, who attracted general attention. "Whatever may happen," said madame Elizabeth with animation, "they must not be separated from us; we ought to share their fate, they have devoted themselves to partake ours." I then proposed that they should lay aside their couriers' dress, and instead of these foreign colors, put on the uniform of the national guard. Already during the journey, some national guards, animated by a noble devotedness, and a desire to watch as closely as possible over the safety of the royal family and the persons in their suite, had mounted behind the carriage, or on the foot-board under the three gardes-du-corps. I had experienced the good effect of this; it was quite natural to continue it; and I was sure of the success of this innocent stratagem. "No," said the queen; "the king must return to Paris with his family and his attendants, as he left it." No alternative remained to me to prevent the accidents which I dreaded, than to overload the carriage by making three national guards, who were pointed out to me, get upon the box, and who, sitting close to the three gardes-du-corps, vowed that they would not forsake them.

We set out again on the 25th of June, about seven o'clock in the morning; a very good horse from the king's stables was brought me, which M. de Briges, one of his grooms, had placed some days before in the relay at Meaux. I resumed my post at the door of the carriage next the king. This day was the most fatiguing; the heat was excessive; we could hardly breathe for the dust, and could scarcely advance at a walking pace, not only because

the berlin was overloaded, but because the immense crowd which covered the road, and the ardor of the thousands of national guards to accompany the king to Paris, formed an insuperable barrier to our progress. Foreseeing that these obstacles would increase more and more, I had written to M. de la Fayette, who sent to me Curmer, one of his aid-de-camps, to inform me that he was going to send a division of the national guard of Paris, under the command of my brother, major Dumas de Saint Marcel, and an hundred men of the mounted guard commanded by M. Cottin.

The detachment of cavalry preceded the infantry and joined me between Livry and Bondy. Almost at the same instant a crowd of ruffians issued from the forest to the left of the road, mingled with the national guards about the carriage, suddenly surrounded it, threatening to break it to pieces, and uttering horrible imprecations. It was in vain that they were driven away; they passed under the horses' bellies and between the wheels. Barnave hastily sprang from the carriage, and addressing me, said, "Remember, colonel, that you answer with your head for the safety of the royal family." His energy and my efforts awed these wretches; I succeeded in freeing the carriage; the detachment of cavalry, ill-conducted and thrown into disorder, was scarcely of any use to me, but Delarue and Curmer, to whom I had confided the care of the two doors of the carriage, maintained their post with the greatest resolution.

Between Bondy and Paris we were threatened with a second attack. A number of women, real furies, penetrated amidst the escort, and uttered fearful cries. I then perceived the column of infantry which was coming to meet us, and at the head of which was the company of grenadiers of captain Lefebvre, afterwards marshal duke of Dantzig. My brother Saint Marcel, who ought to have been with them, had been kept by M. de la Fayette at the post of the Tuileries, next to the garden.

The crowd had become so considerable, and the confusion increased to such a degree, that I was no longer able myself to approach their majesties' carriage, or hardly to make myself heard, my voice being almost gone. It was impossible for me to inform my two aid-de-camps of the order which I gave to captain Lefebvre, to come to meet

the carriage, in double quick-time, to clear the way for it, and to surround it closely, till their majesties should arrive at their journey's end. The danger which the royal family had incurred, notwithstanding all my exertions, sufficiently justified the precaution. My order was so vigorously executed, that the aid-de-camp Curmer, who persisted in guarding the carriage-door, had his thigh pierced with a bayonet, and my brother-in-law, Delarue, was thrown from his horse, which was wounded.

There was no further disorder till our arrival at the Tuileries. We stopped for a moment before the rotunda of the barrière of Pantin. M. de la Fayette was there with his staff. I, of course, thought that my mission was terminated, and hastened to give up the command to him. "You are mistaken," said he, "your task is not yet completed. According to the decree, the return of the royal family to the palace of the Tuileries is under your personal responsibility."

The general indicated to me the route by the new Boulevards and the Champs Elisées. The national guard lined the road in the most profound silence. Lefebvre's company of grenadiers continued to escort the carriage. We arrived by the Place Louis XV, and the garden of the Tuileries, and the door of the centre pavilion, where the royal family alighted. A considerable number of members of the assembly were at the bottom of the staircase. One of them, the baron de Menou, took the dauphin in his arms. I had left my horse, and remained near the carriage, that I might myself make the three gardes-du-corps come down from the box, and protect their entrance into the palace. Threatening vociferations were uttered against them. There was a short, but violent affray, between the national guard and a handful of scoundrels who had penetrated between the ranks. One of the gardes-du-corps was struck by these ruffians and ill-treated in this affray, as were those who assisted him; and like them, I had my hat, my girdle, and the scabbard of my sword taken away, and my clothes torn. In this condition I went up to the king's apartment. Madame Elizabeth herself came into the hall of the guards, in order to assist the garde-du-corps who had been ill-used, and to have his wounds dressed in her presence. I was admitted into the king's cabinet, where the three commissioners had already arrived.

I made an apology for appearing before his majesty in such a disordered dress; and added, that I entreated him to do entire justice to the sentiments of respect and of loyalty with which I had fulfilled my duty, and the honorable mission of watching over the safety of the royal family. I then received from the king, from the queen, and Madame Elizabeth testimonies of kindness and of their satisfaction with my conduct, which the most atrocious calumnies, spread by their false friends, have never been able to efface from my grateful recollection. It has been said—it has been written in many libels—in memoirs—in lying documents, that I caused the three gardes-du-corps to be put in chains. You may see by the preceding simple narrative, whether I failed in foresight, care, and attention, to accomplish the wishes of their majesties and of Madame Elizabeth with respect to these generous servants.

While we were still in the king's cabinet, general la Fayette, whose life had been endangered by the king's departure, presented himself and was admitted He came to take the king's orders for the execution of the decree, passed by the national assembly on the report of Thouret, in the name of the committee of the constitution, respecting the custody and safety of the king and of the royal personages who were confided to him under his responsibility. M. de la Fayette acquitted himself of this duty with much dignity, and bore with his usual composure the cold and disdainful reception given him by the queen. I afterwards accompanied the three commissioners to the national assembly, of which M. de Beauharnais was at that time president, and withdrew after hearing the report which they gave of their mission.

The fatigue, the anxiety, the constraint which I had undergone for three days and three nights, without rest, without sleep, had exceeded my strength. Being now left to myself, I suddenly fell into an alarming state of exhaustion and delirium. I was removed to the country, where the affectionate care of my mother-in-law, and my amiable wife, and the caresses of my two charming daughters, averted the consequences of a violent inflammation, and restored my mind to tranquillity. What a catastrophe was this! what a sight! the royal family of France stripped, in the eyes of the people, of all the illusions of

grandeur and authority! In the moral, as well as in the physical order of human society, events sometimes occur which derange the system, destroy the equilibrium, the consequences of which wisdom and reason can no more prevent, than the hand of man can efface the traces of the convulsions of the globe, and restore to their former places the disjointed masses.

Without doubt, if the unanimous sentiment which, at the moment of the king's departure, had for a time divided the members of the national assembly, had continued to prevail; if this thunderstroke, if the voice of public opinion had sufficed to enlighten people's minds, and to bring the aristocratic and demagogical oppositions to the real interests of the state, to the will of the nation, the revolutionary movement might have been stopped, and the new state of society have been fixed by a happy issue. But very far from that! Scarcely had the stupor with which all had been seized, been dispelled by the return of the king, when the parties became more violent than ever, and sought in the causes or in the effects of the event, which ought to have united them all, only new arms to combat and destroy each other. The aristocrats, instead of seconding the national party, which employed forms, severe in appearance, only to appease or to avert the discontent of the people, to restore and consolidate the royal power by the constitution—the aristocrats, I say, demanded, on the contrary, that all the marks of submission, of respect, and almost of repentance should be immediately given to the king, which would have made the national assembly take on itself all the blame of the event. They triumphed in the embarrassment of the monarchical and constitutional patriots, by proposing to them this terrible dilemma, "confess at length that the throne is overturned, that you keep the king a prisoner, that you institute judicial proceedings against him, or brave this pretended public indignation, and from this moment fulfil, as we do, the duties of loyal and obedient subjects." On the other hand, the party of the republican levellers, taking advantage of this equivocal situation, urged the people to all the excesses of anarchy, effaced every where the insignia of royalty, accused the national party in the assembly of perfidy, and even of treason, and sowed discord to destroy confidence. But when the tomb engulfed the whole of the

three generations which have transmitted to each other so many false traditions, so many partial judgments on the fatal events of this period, history will say that the majority of the constituent assembly, placed between these two shoals, governed with equal firmness and moderation; that it preserved entirely the principle of limited monarchy, and by completing the constitution in the midst of these storms, established a representative government, if not on the immovable foundation of a just division of powers, yet at least with as much solidity as was attainable under such circumstances.

My friends had a great share in these energetic and generous resolutions. United with general de la Fayette, whom the two extreme parties attacked with equal fury, Dupont, Lameth, and Barnave seconded him to the utmost of their power, when he was compelled to perform the painful duty of causing martial law to be enforced against the anarchists tumultuously assembled in the Champ-de-Mars. This proof of their devotedness, this relinquishment of the popularity with which they were so bitterly reproached, and which they so honorably sacrificed to the preservation of order, disarmed neither the animosity of one party nor the ingratitude of the other. Finding themselves without power to profit by the public troubles to hinder the completion of the great work—the establishment of a free and monarchical government, the aristocrats and the levellers agreed to vitiate its principle by opposing the re-election of the members of the constituent assembly—a fatal decree, which abandoned the destinies of France to chance, and revived the criminal hopes of the enemies of its liberty both at home and abroad.

I did not witness the last discussions of the constituent assembly; having been promoted to the rank of major-general, I was employed in the third military division, under the command of Lieutenant-general de Belmont, who had just succeeded M. de Bouillé. I was particularly appointed to command at Metz the first sub-division, and with the instructions of M. Duportail, the minister of war, I received orders to repair to that city without delay. The garrison of Metz, composed of fifteen battalions of troops of the line, three battalions of the newly formed national guard, and a regiment of artillery, was in a state of fermentation, which gave uneasiness to the government.

The arrest of the royal family at Varennes having defeated the plan conceived by M. de Bouillé, the garrison of Metz, left to itself, fell into the greatest confusion. The eminent services of the Marquis de Bouillé, his noble military qualities, had acquired him the esteem and confidence of the army, but his equivocal conduct during the troubles in Alsace, and especially in the affair at Nancy, had rendered him very unpopular, and an object of suspicion to the friends of liberty. He reckoned on leading away all the troops that were under his command; he maintained discipline among the subalterns and the privates; he did not fatigue them either by the duty or by exercises; he gained the good-will of the officers, and had secured their attachment. In fact, a few days after the arrest of the king and the emigration of M. de Bouillé were known at Metz, the greater part of the officers of the corps which composed the garrison, followed that fatal example, excepting the artillery, which lost but very few of its officers. This desertion did not produce all the effect that had been expected from it. These officers were not imitated either by the subalterns or the soldiers; no corps was disorganized, but the bonds of discipline were relaxed, and the influence of the popular societies was speedily felt.

On the very day of my arrival at Metz, when I alighted at the residence of M. de Belmont, information had just been brought to that general, that the German regiment of Nassau, which was in barracks in the quarter of Chambieres, was in a complete state of mutiny, and refused to execute the orders which it had received to march to Nancy. M. de Belmont ordered me to go immediately to those barracks, and authorised me to adopt such measures as I should judge most prudent to check these seditious movements, and reduce the mutineers to obedience. I took with me two piquets of fifty chasseurs of the twelfth regiment, which I placed at the gates of the quarter of Chambieres to blockade it, and hinder every communication with the town and the rest of the garrison. In the court-yard of the barracks I found the members of the municipality, and a considerable number of citizens, who were endeavoring to persuade the mutinous troops to submit, and not to interrupt the public tranquillity by a longer resistance. I immediately ordered the recall to be beat, and the regiment being drawn up in order of battle, I

made the officers and subalterns form a circle. I declared to them that they were responsible for the obedience of the soldiers, and that no persons should quit the quarter till the regiment should have returned to its duty and be ready to march, conformably to the king's orders. When the circle broke up, I desired the major, who was the only superior officer present, to give orders to pile the arms, to break the ranks, and return to their rooms, which was executed without any murmurs. I then employed the persons on guard to remove the arms and deposit them in a room, where I placed a post, with orders not to suffer any soldier to approach. Before I retired, I informed the major that I should not permit the arms to be delivered till he could answer to me for the perfect obedience of the troops; that till then the quarter would be blockaded by the cavalry; lastly, that, if things were still in the same state on the following day, the general commanding the division would take other measures. Immediately afterwards I made the citizens who had accompanied the municipality, leave the barracks.

On the same evening I received the assurance of entire submission, and the following morning, at day-break, the regiment departed to march for Nancy. This success gained me the good-will of the soldiers, and the confidence of the people of Metz. Being warmly supported by the patriotic party, I the more easily seconded the efforts of M. de Belmont to restore discipline and a good spirit among the troops under his command at Metz, Thionville, and the other fortresses in his division. My mother-in-law and my wife came to join me with my two daughters, and did the honors of my house. Thus I spent at Metz the rest of the summer. My conduct obtained the approbation of the general commanding the division and that of the minister; it justified the esteem of my friends, and answered their expectations.

I have said above that M. de Belmont treated me with the utmost confidence, and he gave me a proof of it by desiring me to examine the papers which M. de Bouillé had left in his bureau and in some boxes. The confusion in which they were, was a proof of the precipitation with which he had left his head-quarters to hasten to meet the king. No person but M. de Belmont had since entered that cabinet. I observed first on the writing-table a map

of the frontier, including the course of the Meuse and that of the Moselle, from a reduction of the map of Cassini. At Montmédy, two slips of paper were fastened; on the first was traced a camp, below and under the cannon of Montmédy, and consequently, on this side of the boundaries. On the other, the camp was traced beyond the boundaries, between Arlon and Montmédy. I have preserved this map, which discloses the plan of M. de Bouillé, to give the king the choice of either position, which, in my opinion, proves the truth of the declaration of Louis XVI. It cannot be doubted that the design of making the whole royal family quit the kingdom was exclusively that of the instigators of the intrigue; but that the intention of remaining isolated and free in his movements in a place on the extreme frontier, without going beyond it—in a word, of not forsaking France, was that of the king alone. If it had not been so would they have offered him the choice of two positions?

The most important papers that I found among those of general de Bouillé consisted of the correspondence of general Heymann during his last visit to Paris, whither M. de Bouillé had sent him to take the king's orders respecting his journey, and to determine the arrangements of the escorts of cavalry, which were to secure his journey to the frontier. This correspondence, if it had been made known, would have implicated several persons, who were not suspected at that time in the secret of the king's journey. General Heymann, whom M. de Bouillé had sent away from the place when his presence, his experience, and the energy of his character, would certainly have ensured the success of his enterprise, had been ordered to Sarrelouis, and was thus twenty-five leagues from Varennes at the decisive moment. As soon as he learnt the arrest of the royal family, he emigrated and went to Berlin. Madame Heymann had remained at Metz. I sent her word by an officer, in whom I had implicit confidence, that I had found and burnt all this correspondence. I did the same with many other letters and notes from different persons relative to the same affair. This proceeding was highly approved by M. de Belmont and by my friends. A short time afterwards Madame Heymann communicated to me a letter from her husband, in which he complained bitterly of M. de Bouillé, and regretted that from

motives, which, according to him, were very blameable, he had removed from the scene of action, the person whose services and resolutions might have been the most useful. "Certainly," said Heymann, "with a handful of my hussars I would have opened a passage for the royal family, even by making them swim across the Meuse, if I had not been able to force the barricade of the bridge."

I was then very far from thinking that my situation, with which I was justly so well satisfied, was so soon to change. The constituent assembly had completed its labors. It had overthrown or lessened many obstacles; it had laid the true foundations of a representative monarchy, which the most violent commotions have not been able to remove from the soil of France, now restored to liberty, and which whatever events, even changes of form may take place, will endure as long as the existence of the French as a nation: but the constituent assembly had left its work imperfect, merely by declaring its members incapable of being re-elected to the next legislative assembly.

The fundamental law had no support but in the popular belief, which is as fickle as the wind and the waves. The king's journey had discredited the executive power, which was already too much weakened, because it had been necessary to vanquish its opposition to the wishes of the nation. The new constitution was therefore about to be exposed, without defence, to the attacks of the two factions—the republicans and the aristocrats, both of which were equally interested in its destruction. The opposite passions which animated them, led them to the same excesses, to the same frensy. On the part of the republicans was a delirious love of liberty, and on that of the aristocrats the most profound hatred of every kind of liberal institution. The most enlightened members of the assembly, even those who had shown the most courage, when they had to attack abuses, in the fulness of their power (and my friends Barnave, Lameth, La Fayette, and Duport were in this honorable minority,) had exhausted themselves in vain efforts to obtain the revocation of this fatal decree of non re-election. Duport especially had delivered on this vital question, a speech equally solid and brilliant, and unhappily prophetic. No hope was left to

the friends of the constitution, but the good choice of the new deputies to the approaching legislature.

Extreme agitation prevailed in the electoral assemblies. The great aristocratic landowners had refrained from attending them; the patriots were divided: the spirit of mistrust, which was universally spread, favored the most ardent. The constitutionalists, who were always the friends of well-regulated liberty, obtained with difficulty the majority of the votes. I was not able to be present at the elections of the department of Seine and Oise, and I did not even think of being there; I discharged in another manner, my debt to the country, and I was ignorant that my friends had inserted my name on the list of candidates. I knew, too, that the electoral assembly of Versailles was governed by violent revolutionists, such as Lecointre and the Curé Bassal, who were elected deputies. I was therefore greatly surprised on learning my nomination; and though they had given me honorable men for colleagues, I was inclined not to accept. By the same post that brought the news of my election, I received notice that M. Duportail, the minister of war, whose health was declining, and who was disposed to retire, was to propose me to the king as his successor. On the other hand my friends urged, and conjured me, in the name of the cause which we had embraced, and of our common sentiments, to accept the post in which the danger was the most imminent. I yielded to their entreaties, and renounced, with the most poignant regret, the place of governor of Metz, and the career which, in every respect, was more suitable to me than the legislative functions.

CHAPTER V.

The legislative assembly—Classification of parties—Resignation of general la Fayette and Bailly—Situation and temper of the parties in the assembly—Debate and decree on emigration—The king's veto—Declaration against the electors, princes of the empire—Massacres at Avignon—Debate and vote on this subject—Debate on the situation of the negroes in the colonies—Debate on the war—Presidentship of the assembly on the 21st of February, 1792—Debate on popular societies—Answer of the emperor of Germany—Dismissal of M. de Narbonne—Report of Brissot on the diplomatic communications—Accusation of M. Delessart—Overthrow of the ministry—The Girondin ministry—Despatch of the ambassador of France at Vienna, and the answer of prince Kaunitz—Louis XVI. in the assembly on the 20th of April—Debate, and declaration of war—Honors of the sitting to the soldiers of Chateau-Vieux—First military operations—Resignation of the marshal de Rochambeau—Debates on the prisoners of war; on the police and discipline of the army—Misunderstanding in the ministry—Accusation of M. Lariviere, justice of peace—Accusation of MM. de Montmorin and Bertrand de Molleville—Decree against the priests who had not taken the oath—The assembly declared permanent—Debate on the disbanding of the king's guards—Decree for disbanding them—Accusation of M. de Brissac—Decree for a camp of 20,000 men—Dismissal of the three Girondin ministers—Memorial of Dumouriez—Resignation of Dumouriez—The king's veto on the decree for the transportation of the priests, and that for the camp of 20,000 men—The new ministry—The situation and sentiments of the king—Letter from General la Fayette to the assembly—Motion of Delfant against the popular societies—La Fayette in the assembly—Report of Pastoret on the internal and foreign affairs—Debate on the defence of the frontiers—A petition presented by Dupont de Nemours—Publicity of the sittings of the departmental directories—Attack on the minister Terrier de Monteiel—Debate on the declaration of "the country is in danger" —Report of the minister of foreign affairs and of war; debate—Declaration of the king against Prussia—Speeches of Torné and Condorcet—Speech and motion of Lamourette, bishop of Lyons—Fusion of parties—The king in the assembly—Suspension of the mayor of Paris—Speech of Brissot—Report of the ministers on the state of affairs at home and abroad—Declaration "the country is in danger"—Plan for the departure of the king to the army—The king's refusal—Re-instatement of the mayor Petion—Fête of the 14th July, 1792—Impeachment of General la Fayette—Speech of Manuel, the procurator of the commune—Inflammatory petition—Marshal Luckner in the assembly—Letters from Dumouriez to the assembly—Motion against Dumouriez—Report and debate on the impeachment of La Fayette—Decree on the pay of the federalists—Plan for the defence of the frontiers—Petition of the federalists—Draft of a message to the king—Defence of Bureaux de Pusy—Arrival of the federalists of Marseilles at Paris—Assassination of Duhamel—Petitions for the dismissal of the Marseillais from Paris—Accusation against General Dumouriez—Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick—Letter from the king to the Assembly—Address of the commune and sections of Paris—Decree against the Address of the section Mauconseil—Contradictory petitions—

Resumption of the impeachment against La Fayette—Rejection of the impeachment—Acts of violence against the constitutional deputy—Generous notice of the deputy d'Espinassay of a plot against my life—Sitting of the 9th of August—The 10th of August, 1792—Various discussions and proceedings from the 10th of August till the close of the assembly.

Our fears were but too well founded; this new assembly, which was so numerous (it consisted of 730 deputies), represented but too faithfully the state of France at that time, the divergence of opinions, and the temper of people's minds. The deputies, not being personally acquainted, addressed each other with reserve. At first groups were formed of those deputed from the same places; but, as I have already said, with respect to that of which I formed a part, there was nowhere, except among the Girondins, unity of views and mutual confidence.

When I joined the assembly, I was informed of this state of things by my excellent friend Theodore Delamette, deputy from Mount Jura. We joined the small number of those with whom we had been more or less intimately connected, and of whose purely constitutional opinions we were well convinced. Such were Ramon, Jaucourt, Lebrun, Beugnot, Becquey, Girardin, Vaublanc, Lafon-Ladebat, Vimar, &c. I wish I could register here the names of so many men, respectable either for their talents or their unshaken firmness.

In the very first sittings we saw the chaos dispel, but the political horizon loaded with storms. The seats, which in the constituent assembly, the true defenders of liberty had occupied on the left, side, were attacked and carried by storm by the most violent innovators. A much greater number of well-informed men, professing moderate opinions, who were reputed wise, but scarcely took any part, posted themselves in the centre, where their masses and their close ranks might, in consequence of their weight and number, have in their own eyes the appearance of a powerful majority and allay their timidity. The conscientious friends of the constitution had no seats left but those on the right, which had been filled, in the preceding assembly, by the advocates of the ancient system. Strange confusion! In the eyes of the people, who are always struck by external appearances, the patriots were only an aristocratical minority. Thus the legislative assembly was divided in its first sittings, and no change was made in its

local arrangements till its close. We counted our number; we were 160, and had no reason to fear a single desertion. However, more than two-thirds of the members of this assembly sincerely desired the preservation of the constitutional monarchy, without any alteration of the fundamental law. This was the will of the nation, and the duty of its representatives. But a *vis inertiæ* was not sufficient to fulfil it, and a constitutional party could not lead the mass of the indifferent, and form a preponderating majority, unless it were supported by the sincere and vigorous execution of the laws. This was not the case.

The influence which the capital had exercised in the conquest of liberty was equally necessary to preserve the fruits of it. This support failed us. Public order rested solely on the zeal and good spirit of the national guards and the municipal authorities. General la Fayette the commander-in-chief, and M. Bailly the mayor of Paris, had acquired the entire confidence of all classes of citizens. They were the soul of this great body; in their wisdom, their firmness, their perfect understanding, the public force in all its intensity resided. General la Fayette had fulfilled all his engagements, he had no other proofs to give of his disinterested devotedness, than by laying down this species of popular dictatorship, which the esteem and affection of the entire mass of the nation had conferred on him. He bid adieu to the national guard and retired to his estate of Chavagnac. His loss was irreparable. The decree for the organisation of the national guard, adopted by the constituent assembly on the 12th of September, 1791, had suppressed the functions of commander-in-chief, and assigned them to the commanders of the legions, who were each to exercise them in turn for one month. The immediate effect of this arrangement, which general la Fayette had himself suggested from generous motives, was to break the unity and the strength of the only body that was capable of preserving public order and of defeating the machinations of the two factions who were the enemies of constitutional liberty. The aristocrats, who could never persuade themselves to look upon this civic guard, animated with a pure and ardent zeal for the defence of the laws and of the throne, otherwise than as organised rebellion, rejoiced at seeing the constituent assembly break

its own shield and sow in the national guard the seeds of discord and dissolution. On the other hand, the levellers beheld with equal joy the fall of the greatest obstacle which they had to dread. The lukewarmness, the despondency, which appeared in all the ranks of the national guard, inspired them with hopes of being soon able to corrupt its elements, and make it serve as an instrument to their perverse designs.

The blow struck at the existence of the national guard was no less fatal to the constituted authorities of the department and of the commune. These authorities not having, nor being able to have, any other public force at their disposal to insure the execution of the laws and to repress licentiousness, the respectable M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, who, notwithstanding his ill health, had remained at his post only at the repeated entreaties of M. la Fayette, soon followed his example and retired. This was a new triumph for the two factions inimical to the constitution. Pétion was proposed in his place, and as some spoke of inviting M. la Fayette to accept this post, which was of so much importance under these circumstances, the two factions, without concerting together and from opposite motives, joined to choose Pétion.

Encouraged by this abandonment of all actual guarantees, the innovators, who conspired the ruin of the monarchical constitution, did not even take the pains to dissemble their projects and the plan which they had decided on. The party formed by the deputation of the Gironde, almost wholly composed of very eloquent young advocates, some of whom, especially Vergniaud and Gaudet, had as much natural eloquence as little experience in public affairs, hastened to display great strictness of principles and a lofty republican pride. Theorists, such as Condorcet, Guyton de Morveau, &c., practised and subtle writers, such as Brissot, joined it. They left the most violent men, the Coryphæi of the Jacobins, to make the first attacks on the majesty of the throne, to sow the seeds of distrust, and embarrass the government by agitating from the very beginning of the session the questions which were most likely to excite popular passions. They kept themselves in reserve behind this vanguard, always ready to support its attacks by profiting by the slightest circumstance to gain ground, sometimes by violent speeches,

sometimes by affecting a false moderation. This system of tactics was constantly followed during the whole course of the session, and the constitutional party, reduced to act on the defensive, supported itself during the first months only by means of the vacillating neutrality of the greater number of the members of this assembly, who, even when throwing much light upon the discussions, always avoided deciding between the two minorities, and ended by forsaking us.

Twenty days had scarcely passed when the debate on the measures to be taken against emigration manifested the sentiments and the opinions of the several parties, and gave room to presage every thing that was to be feared from a systematic and violent opposition, seconded by unbridled popular licentiousness. This question had been debated in the last sittings of the constituent assembly, which had wisely set aside this incentive to discord. The enemies of the constitution hastily seized upon it; it was the most popular pretext; they could not open their attack on a more favorable ground. I, as well as my friends, made a point of taking part, on the 20th of October, in this important debate. It was the first speech that I delivered.

I examined, in the first place, in the strictest conformity to principles, the proposed prohibition of emigration; I applied the consequences to the circumstances in which we were placed; lastly, I proposed the measures which I thought calculated to fulfil the views of the assembly, without infringing the principles of public law and those established by the constitution. Such was the division of my discourse.

I proposed to erase from the army-list officers of every rank who, using their right, had given, or should give their resignation, and to have all those tried as deserters by courts-martial, who, without having given their resignation, should have abandoned their post and gone into foreign countries.

My opinion was supported by other speakers, such as Ramond, Vaublanc, and Lemontey, with much warmth and eloquence, but without success. The mass of the centre remained passive. and the majority, led away by the orators of the Gironde, passed the two following celebrated decrees. The first (20th October, 179:,) declared that all public functionaries who should not have returned

to France within one month, should forfeit their titles, places, salaries, and civil rights, and enjoined the princes, the king's brothers, and the three princes of Condé, likewise to return within the same time, in default of which they should be considered to have renounced their contingent rights to the throne, and to all their salaries.

The second (9th November, 1791,) declared as suspected of treason to the country, all Frenchmen assembled beyond the frontiers of the kingdom, and condemned to the penalty of death, if they persisted in their resolution after the 1st January, 1792. The same rigor was extended to the French princes.

This violation of the constitution was the most impolitic measure, as well as the most offensive to the king himself; for it obliged him to despoil his own brothers, if he adopted the decree, and rendered him more and more unpopular if he put his veto upon it. In both cases the cause of the princes was served in foreign countries by this proscription, and all the steps rendered illusory which the king might spontaneously take, to recall them to the kingdom.

The revolutionists were emboldened by the success of the first attack, for they considered as such the refusal of Louis XVI to sanction the two decrees. They struck another blow, which was more felt by the king, by another equally unconstitutional decree (29th November, 1791,) which enjoined the priests who had not taken the oath to do so without delay, and deprived the refractory of all salary or pension. This was aggravating the fault which the constituent assembly had committed by adding to it the injustice of depriving the priests of a right, which they had acquired by the liberty of public worship, and of the scanty pittance which had been secured to them by the law. The necessity for repressing the intrigues and the machinations of a great number of these priests, and their abuse of the liberty which had been left them, were not a sufficient ground for this violation of the law. Tolerance would have been a much more efficacious means, but such a great noise was made about the disorders occasioned by this kind of schism, only because the repugnance of the king for the civil constitution of the clergy was known.

The new councillors of the crown, who had just been called to the ministry, (Delessart, Bertrand de Molleville,

Narbonne, Cahier de Gerville, Tarbé, and Dupont-Dutertre,) of whose attachment to the constitution there could be no doubt, were of opinion that the king should make use of his veto. My friends, both in and out of the assembly were of the same opinion; Barnave, Duport, and A. Lameth, being consulted by the king, did not hesitate to express their approbation; they thought, as we did, that by resisting a measure, evidently unconstitutional, the executive power gave a proof of its confidence in the strength of the representative government, and a pledge of its good faith. The directory of the department of Seine, in which were the duke de la Rochefoucauld, d'Anville, Desmeuniers, Talleyrand, and other distinguished members of the constituent assembly, conceived it to be its duty to support by a public expression of its wishes, the legality and the seasonableness of this veto. Though this petition to the king was signed by the members individually, and not in their official capacity, this step was considered an offence to the legislative assembly, and excited the most virulent declamations. Some even proposed to institute an accusation against the directory of the department of the Seine. Thus it appears that war was openly declared, and that the republicans who had raised the standard, were proceeding rapidly to the overthrow of the constitution, by taking advantage of the slightest circumstances to ruin the executive power. Many writers have attempted to justify their criminal undertaking, by accusing the king and the court of bad faith and perfidy: they have adduced as authentic proofs private correspondence, secret instructions, memoirs written by men of different parties; but in this mixture of truth and falsehood, it seems to me that we cannot ascertain the truth, except by fancying ourselves in the same circumstances as the unhappy prince who was the victim of these events. Justice requires that we take into consideration, the goodness, the probity of his character, his passive courage and his irresolution, the illusions of grandeur with which he was surrounded from childhood, his want of knowledge of mankind, his ignorance of the real state of society, lastly, the persons by whom he was surrounded, among whom there was not a single man who was capable in so great and novel a crisis of raising himself above ordinary considerations. If we reflect on all these

circumstances we shall excuse many hesitations and vacillations before we blame them. We shall conceive that not finding any support around him, unable to attempt to repress the disorders, without seeing the instrument of the public force fail in his hands, unable to maintain the dignity of the crown by any act, or by any language which was not accused of treachery or hypocrisy, it cannot appear surprising that the king should have yielded to the counsels, which were given him for his own safety and that of his family, at least to retain his friends and his alliances abroad. Perhaps with so uncertain and threatening a prospect before him, he entertained a vague hope of some favorable chances from the exertions of those, whose fatal succor could only accelerate his ruin. However, in making this very natural supposition, I here declare, that I do not believe that Louis XVI. after his acceptance of the constitution, ever connived with the foreign powers, or concerted any plan with them, far less with the princes, his brothers, and the emigrants, to effect a counter-revolution by force of arms. During the thirty-eight years which have elapsed from that time to the moment of my writing, I have seen nothing, read nothing, and learned nothing to make me change my opinion on this point.

The pertinacity of the emigrants in resisting the king's authority, their intrigues in all the cabinets of Europe, their preparations of war, their assemblages, tolerated and protected in the electorate of Trèves and Mayence, and in the territories of other princes bordering on our frontiers, all soon became not only a pretext for agitation, but a just ground for alarm. The legislative assembly, unanimous on this occasion, decreed, that if these princes of the empire did not cease to lend their territory to the deserters from the French army and navy, who had revolted against the laws of the country, and if they did not effectually oppose all assemblages of Frenchmen in their states, France would consider them as her enemies. This decree was taken into serious consideration by the king, and subsequently, on the 14th December, 1791, Louis XVI went in person to the assembly to acquaint it that he had fixed the 15th of January, 1792, as the day after which he would declare the electors enemies to France, if they had not dispersed these assemblages in

the whole of their respective territories. The solemnity of this step, and the new assurance which the king gave on this occasion that he would faithfully preserve the constitution, seemed to moderate party fury, and for a time revived our hopes. But if we congratulated ourselves on the prudent course which the new counsellors of the crown had taken; if we found in the firm resolution of the king the only means to restore harmony between the several powers of the state, and to preserve peace abroad, the republicans, on the contrary, beheld in this energetic address only the engagement into which Louis XVI entered, to have recourse to arms, if he could not obtain complete satisfaction from the princes and the head of the empire. They were but too certain of completely ruining the king if they succeeded in declaring war, for in whatever manner it should be carried on, they proposed, in case of advantages, to make them considered as obtained by the nation in spite of the king, against his own cause, and against his secret wishes; and, in case of reverses, the blame would be laid upon him alone, on his perfidy and his bad faith. They saw, therefore, with secret joy the executive power gradually approach the snare which they had laid for it, and which soon it would not be able to avoid. There was a sort of truce, and the members of the centre of the assembly who were more annoyed by our firmness than by the violence of the Jacobins, congratulated themselves on this deceitful calm as the fruit of their pretended wisdom. But this truce was only apparent and of short duration. While the king's negotiations encountered abroad all the obstacles which the aristocracy and the most ardent passions accumulated, the republicans were preparing to take advantage of the unfavorable issue, which their actions, their pretensions, their language, as well as the confusion which they excited in the public mind and affairs, rendered inevitable. Thus the flame of dissension was kept up in the legislative assembly itself.

At this time we received the news of the massacres at Avignon. That city, as well as the county of Venaissin, on the freely expressed wish of the communes of the country, had been declared portions of the French empire, by three decrees of the constituent assembly of the 4th and 5th of May, and 13th of September, 1790. Unfortunately

the execution of this union had been too long delayed. No authority, no armed force, kept in check the rage of the different parties. Every day there were sanguinary reprisals, but on the 16th of October Avignon became the theatre of the most frightful assassinations. A band of ruffians, most of them strangers, (and would to Heaven that not a single Frenchman could have been counted among the number!) spread terror in the south, and committed the most horrible excesses. A monster, its worthy chief, who caused himself to be called Jourdan le Coupe-tête, led it to Avignon. The party opposed to the union had for some moments regained the preponderance in the city. It had expelled many of its antagonists, and persecuted the rest with blind fury. Lécuyer, the secretary of the municipality, was overtaken at the foot of the altar, where he had sought refuge, and immolated without mercy. The horrible Jourdan and his band suddenly appeared in the midst of this anarchy. The exiles who had returned joined these cannibals; the reaction was awful; the gates of the city were closed. Jourdan tore from their houses the unhappy victims who were devoted to death. Sixty individuals of both sexes, and of all ages, entire families, crowded into the prisons, were at once delivered up to the assassins, who chose, at their pleasure, both the victims, and the mode of punishments. Women, children, old men, were alike massacred, and when their thirst of blood was satiated, the barbarians cast this heap of mutilated corpses into an ice-house, or abandoned them to the waves of the Rhone.

The assembly could not listen to the too faithful narrative of these crimes, without trembling with horror and indignation, and yet the enemies of the monarchical constitution, even those who had not been able to resist this first impression, far from joining to avenge the outraged laws and humanity, soon sought in these fatal events for new means to shake social order, even to its foundations. They did not fear to extend a protecting hand to the assassins of Avignon, and thus to encourage their odious auxiliaries. Scarcely had the assembly decreed the formation of a special tribunal, when one of the Coryphæi of the party the ci-devant marquis de Rovère, dared to appear at the bar and plead the cause of the assassins, representing these events as the reaction of civil war. His petition

was not rejected. It was sent to the committee, and served as an initiative for the orators who proposed an amnesty.

In this memorable debate, the fatal era of the invasion of anarchical principles, the whole secret of this conspiracy against the constitution was revealed. The pretended republicans of the Gironde at first brought into action their vanguard, the most violent Jacobins. These demanded that the amnesty decreed by the constituent assembly, for all crimes and misdemeanors relative to the revolution, should be applied to those committed at Avignon, though posterior by three months to the promulgation of the decree. They argued that the union of that country with France was not consummated at that day. We opposed this frightful sophism, which the orators of the Gironde shamelessly supported. I took part in this debate, and on the proposal for an amnesty, moved the previous question, on the ground that the constitution had not given to the legislative body the right of pardon, as the institution of the jury was a sufficient substitute; and even if the jury had not been established, nothing could interrupt the inquiry into the case.

I said, "we do not, we cannot exercise the judicial power; if we did, we should only prejudge the result of the inquiry. Since the happy institution of the jury there is no more occasion to grant pardon, and we could not grant, or enlarge an amnesty, without exercising a right of sovereignty. Now we do not exercise the entire sovereignty. I think that passing a law of amnesty is exercising the whole sovereign authority, or seizing on the judicial power." I was supported by Girardin, Vaublanc, and especially by Gentil, who refuted, by the most solid arguments, the perfidious subtleties by means of which the defenders of Coupe-tête Jourdan endeavored to misrepresent the question. In conclusion, Guadet and Vergniaud, the one by specious comparisons, the other by extravagant bursts of eloquence, implored the indulgence and the pity of the assembly, for these pretended persecuted patriots. Supported by the applause of their party, and by the stamping of the feet of the people in the galleries, they carried with them the centre of the assembly, and extorted from the majority on the 19th March, 1792, that illegal and fatal decree of amnesty, which was the

source of the greatest misfortunes, and the too certain pledge of impunity for most criminal attempts.

This disgraceful success of the Gironde party had been prepared by the preceding debates on two important questions, that of war, and that of the colonies. Both of these, alternately interrupted and resumed, kept the minds of every body in suspense; the animated debates on these two subjects were the more conducive to the designs of the party, as they furnished an opportunity to increase its popularity by specious declamations. In the question relative to war, which became more and more complex since the negotiations, this party endeavored to flatter the passions of the multitude, under the pretext of avenging the national honor; and in that of the colonies, demanding the immediate admission of the people of color and of the emancipated negroes to the rights of citizens, plumed itself on the advantage of pleading the cause of humanity, and of the absolute application of the principles laid down in the declarations of the rights of man. Being resolved to cut short all questions in the spirit of their revolutionary projects, and without taking into consideration either political circumstances, or the real interests of the nation, the Girondins rejected with all their might, peace both at home and abroad. Before such adversaries, the constitutional party, defending the established government, opposing to the absolute levellers the principles of a sound and wise policy, and too often abandoned in this painful struggle, appeared, in the eyes of the fanatic multitude, to be vanquished and disarmed, and was supported only by the consciousness of doing its duty.

The affair of the disturbances in St. Domingo had already engaged the attention of the assembly, before that relative to war was seriously agitated. As I took a very active part in the debate to which both these questions gave occasion, I will first recapitulate the most striking features of the first discussion, which was terminated by the famous decree of the 28th March, 1792. I will then relate the principal incidents of the second discussion, without interrupting the thread of the narrative, till the declaration of war on the 20th of April following.

The constituent assembly had not been able to prevent the ruin of the rich colony of St. Domingo; its efforts, its several resolutions, the zeal and the talent of the most

patriotic and the most enlightened speakers, such as Barnave and others, had not been able to stifle the seeds of destruction, to extinguish the torches of discord which the acknowledgment of the common right to civil and political economy had thrown among the population of the Antilles. The problem was insolvable. The fundamental principle of the revolution effected in the mother-country was inapplicable to the colonies, because the elements of society there were not only different, but altogether contrary. The admission of the freed negroes to the rights of citizens, a very natural act of justice, inevitably led to the abolition of slavery; but to fulfil the wishes of the friends of humanity as speedily as their impatience required, it would have been necessary to change at once the distinctive characters of the three races, who were radically separated by the prejudices of color; to form and assimilate their manners, to alter their interests, to give them a country. It is not given to the human understanding to form such a project. In the midst of these insurmountable difficulties how was a middle course to be taken, when there was no possibility of modifying the two extremes? The planters, whether natives or Europeans, accustomed to consider themselves alone in the community, could not comprehend another mode of existence, another regime than that, in which all the rest of the inhabitants, that is to say, nine-tenths of the population, were either slaves or subordinate, and but the passive instruments, the material of their industry; they said it was for them a question of life or of death.

On the other hand, the philosophical principles which had suddenly passed from theory into practice, by the declaration of the rights of man, powerfully assisted the friends of the negroes, who desired at any rate, and at one blow, to carry the abolition of slavery as a strict and necessary consequence of the first basis of the constitution. Such was the cause of the fluctuation of opinions and of the versatility of the measures successively adopted by the constituent assembly. It was just, it was natural, to leave to the planters the initiative of the laws and regulations which were the best adapted to the social situation of the colonies, such as the revolution had found it, and to reserve to them the care and the advantage of granting of their own accord, and by degrees, to the freed negroes,

the benefit of emancipation. It was in this spirit that the decrees of the 8th and 28th of March, 1790, were passed on the wise and luminous report of Barnave. The constituent assembly, unwilling to pass these limits, and fearing to prejudge respecting the civil condition of the parties concerned, contented itself with inserting in the instructions for the execution of the decree, the following paragraph:—"All persons, twenty-five years of age, possessed of real property, or, in default of such property, having been settled in a parish for two years, and paying a tax, shall unite to form the colonial assembly." But these conciliatory views were ill understood, and the vagueness of the expression served only to irritate the two parties. The disorders and excesses which followed obliged the constituent assembly again to discuss the same question. The difficulties had increased; opinions were more violent; the quarrel was embittered, and the intractable pride of the planters had given more strength and intensity to the party of the *Friends of the Negroes.*

Delâtre, who presented a report in the name of the four committees, of the constitution, the marine, agriculture, and trade and colonies, proposed in the sitting of the 7th of May, 1791, in the first place, and as an invariable basis, that no law relative to the condition of persons should be made by the legislative body for the colonies, except on the precise and formal desire of the colonial assemblies; and, secondly, the formation of a committee composed of the deputies of the different colonial assemblies of each colony, of the Windward and Leeward Islands who should meet in the French part of the island of St. Domingo, "for the purpose of declaring their opinion, in the name of the colonies, respecting every thing concerning the people of color and free negroes, without being allowed to extend their deliberations to any other subject."

Barnave, who took the greatest share in this debate, energetically supported the project presented by the committees, and pointed out the danger of the slightest deviation from the principles laid down in the decree of the 8th and 28th of March, 1790, which were renewed in the decree proposed by the four committees; but this time his eloquence and his profound reasoning failed, before the obstinacy of the defenders of the system of the immediate

emancipation of the people of color. The project of the committees, and the opinion of Barnave were supported by Talleyrand, and more especially by Malouet, who diffused the light of his experience over this debate. The most ardent antagonists were the Abbé Grégoire, Pétion, Robespierre and Reubell. The latter moved and carried, under the form of an amendment, on the 15th of May, 1791, a decree which entirely overthrew the whole system of the four committees. This decree was in the following terms:—"The legislative body will never deliberate on the political state of the people of color, who are not the children of parents both free, without the previous free spontaneous wish of the colonies. The colonial assemblies, actually existing, shall subsist, but the people of color, whose parents were both free, shall be admitted into all future, parochial and colonial assemblies if they have otherwise the requisite qualifications."

The prophetic words of Barnave, who displayed on this occasion the most noble independence and the character of a real statesman, were but too soon justified. "If the national assembly," said he in the peroration of his speech of the 14th of May, "should now pass a decree conformable to the proposed amendment, the least of the inconveniences that will result, will be to see the decree remain unexecuted, and perhaps, and too probably the commerce, the manufactures and national property, the victims of your inconsistent, blind and rash proceedings." In fact the colonial assembly persisted in refusing to recognise the political rights of the people of color, and the remonstrances of the commercial towns, which were alarmed by the threats of scission, were well received by the constituent assembly, and completely enlightened it respecting the danger and the impossibility of enforcing the enactments of the decree of the 15th of May. These circumstances restored to the colonial committee and to Barnave all the influence which they had lost in the preceding debates, and on the 24th of September following, the assembly, after having terminated its labors with respect to the constitution of the kingdom, passed, in the plenitude of its powers, a decree, which definitively fixed the constitutional basis of the colonial system. This decree laid it down as a fundamental principle, that the laws concerning the condition of persons not free, and the

political condition of the people of color and free negroes should be made by the colonial assemblies, and be executed provisionally, with the approbation of the governors, and submitted directly to the king for his absolute sanction.

Before this decree reached St. Domingo fresh troubles had broken out there. The free people of color, incensed at seeing themselves thus frustrated, by the constant refusal of the colonial assembly, of the immediate enjoyment of the civil rights granted them by the decree of the 15th May, encouraged on the other hand by the support which they had had from the national assembly itself, and incited by the declamations and the writings of the Society of the Friends of the Negroes, broke all the bonds of subordination in which they had hitherto been restrained. The reaction was terrible. It was but too easy for them to make the negroes revolt, and these blind instruments of the most atrocious vengeance committed excesses, the recital of which made the legislative assembly tremble with horror. The colonial assembly, which had at first met at Léogane, the central point of the colony, and had afterwards removed to Cap Français, was in a manner blockaded there by the revolted negroes, surrounded by conflagrations, and threatened with a general massacre of all the whites. In concert with the governor, M. Blanchelande, it took such measures of defence as the circumstances and its scanty means permitted, and it even solicited assistance from the adjacent foreign colonies. It was in consequence of these events that the legislative assembly had to deliberate on the causes of the irreparable misfortunes of St. Domingo, and the means of applying such remedies as might be best calculated to preserve to the mother-country such a valuable possession. This great affair therefore came before the legislative assembly under the same point of view as before the constituent assembly. The insurrection had for a time been repressed; the colonial assembly, struck with terror, had indeed abated a little of the infatuated rigor of its exclusive principles; it had invited the free men of color to assemble in the parishes, in order to address to it their petitions respecting the condition of persons. A kind of truce, by the name of a concordat, had been concluded at Port-au-Prince, between the people of color and the whites, but the fire still glimmered under the ashes of

the late conflagrations. Was it advisable in this state of things to go back to the decree of the 15th of May, to sacrifice the whites and the real existence of the colony, by peremptorily granting to the people of color and the free negroes, the advantages which they might have acquired by fire and sword? Was it preferable to be content with sending to St. Domingo sufficient succors to prevent a new insurrection, and to maintain the decree of the 24th of December, leaving it to the planters themselves to restore order and harmony, by an act of justice, which they had at length been obliged to acknowledge as the only means of safety for themselves and their properties?

Such was the question which was referred to the colonial committee for examination. Scarcely had this committee appointed its reporter, M. Tarbé, when the promoters of immediate emancipation, foreseeing the wise measures which would be proposed, to maintain the basis of the colonial constitution laid down in the last decree of the constituent assembly in its sitting of the 24th of September, resolved to anticipate the report and the debate, and to weaken, if they could not efface, the profound impression which had been made on the assembly, by the narrative of the late events and the picture of the desperate situation of the planters. The able sophist Brissot took this task upon himself, and under the pretext of throwing a stronger light on this intricate question, he gave notice that he was ready to denounce to the assembly the real authors of the troubles in St. Domingo. On the 1st of September he fulfilled his engagement by reading a discourse, in which, going back to the first period of the revolution, he detailed the whole series of the facts already known, coloring every event with all the partiality of his opinions. In this diffuse pleading the speaker allowed nothing for the essential differences of the social condition of the colonies. The old and absurd prejudice of color was in his eyes but a slight obstacle to the absolute application of the rights of man. He disfigured the most positive facts, he misinterpreted their consequences, he blamed all the resolutions, all the proceedings of the colonial assemblies; he absolved all the attacks of the people of color against the established order of things. Lastly, after a bitter and almost insulting criticism on the system adopted by the constituent assembly, he questioned its legality,

and considering it as unconstutional, demanded its revocation.

This speech, a perfidious introduction to the debates, which were not to commence till after the report of the committee, was furiously applauded by the friends of the speaker and by the galleries; and it must be confessed that by favor of an inextricable confusion of conflicting facts, of faults and of crimes committed by both parties, and also by favor of those bursts of eloquence for which philanthropic apologies always afford occasion, the insinuations of Brissot were not without success, even with impartial men who were not sufficiently informed. The conscientious report of Tarbé, founded on authentic documents, placed the facts in their true light, but did not destroy the prejudices in favor of the people of color, which daily became more popular. Without dissembling the serious faults of the colonial assemblies, the abuses of authority, the intrigues of the counter-revolutionists, the reporter showed the danger as well as the illegality of the revocation of the last decree of the constituent assembly. The committee, dwelling on the necessity of speedily sending succors sufficient to restore order, endeavored to moderate the eagerness of the assembly, which was too much inclined to bind itself by precipitate resolutions. This kind of adjournment, suggested and justified by the accounts recently arrived, caused the second report of Tarbé to be deferred till the 22d of February, 1792. The committee persisted in its advice to refrain from pronouncing, by any legislative measures, on the basis of the question itself, that is to say, as respecting the condition of persons.

The debate opened at length on the 21st of March. Brissot, the champion of the unlimited liberty of the people of color and the negroes, claimed the right of speaking first, in order to refute the assertions of the reporter, whom he accused of having disfigured the facts of which he had given an account. In his speech, which was only a repetition of his first discourse, Brissot applauded the insurrection of the people of color, comparing it to the revolution of the 14th of July. "Frenchmen of the 14th of July," cried he, "you are guilty if the people of color are not innocent." After having said in his peroration that for the happiness of the colonies, the party of the people of color would have the advantage, that it was necessary to

be inflexible as principles (a famous maxim of Robespierre,) Brissot, desiring to repair great evils and the honor of the preceding assembly, persisted in his first proposals, which were nothing less than an act of accusation against the colonial assembly, the governor Blanchelaude (? Blanchelande,) and all those whom he called their accomplices. He demanded, first, that they should be brought to trial before the supreme national tribunal; second, that a new colonial assembly should be formed, the members of which should be chosen by the parochial assemblies, according to the decrees of the 8th and 28th of March, 1790, without distinction of color. Tarbé replied with warmth to this virulent demand, and by the force of his reasoning, as well as by that of his expressions, gained a great advantage over his antagonist. Then the orators of the Gironde hastened to support the accuser.

The draught of a decree presented by Gensonné obtained the priority, and the legislative assembly overturning at one blow the constitutional basis of the colonial legislature, on the 28th of March, 1792, decreed first, that the colonial assemblies and the municipalities should be re-elected in the form prescribed by the decrees of the 8th and 28th of March, 1790; secondly, that the free negroes and people of color should enjoy, as well as the white colonists, equality of political rights; that they should be admitted to vote in all primary and electoral assemblies, and should be eligible to all offices, when they possessed the qualifications prescribed by article 4 of the instructions of the 28th of March (all persons of the age of twenty-five years, proprietors of landed estates, or in default of such property, having been settled in the parish for two years and paying a tax, shall unite to form the colonial assembly).

Thus the ruin of the richest colony which the Europeans had founded beyond the Atlantic since the discovery of the New World, was blindly and irrevocably consummated.

I return to the debate on the subject of war, which was several times interrupted by incidental questions, as I have said above, in which the party of the Gironde always found new pretexts to excite popular passions, to direct them to this point of attack of which it never lost sight, and to carry with it the majority of the assembly.

The time fixed by the king, namely, the 15th of January, 1792, after which his majesty was to declare the electors

enemies to France, if they had not dispersed the assemblies of emigrants in their respective territories, was on the point of expiring. On the 14th of January, Delessart, minister for foreign affairs, communicated to the assembly the official note addressed to the elector of Treves, on the part of the Emperor Leopold. By this note the emperor authorised marshal Bender, who commanded in the Low Countries, to defend the electors against an attack, only in case they should have performed the duties of good neighborhood towards France, and conformably to those engagements which they had taken, to disperse the French emigrants, in imitation of the government of the Netherlands, should have avoided provoking and justifying any hostile invasion by the French. The communication of the official note of the emperor was referred to the diplomatic committee. The minister, after the report made in the name of the committee by M. Kock, the learned professor of public law, made to the assembly some very judicious observations, which were ill received by the partisans of war. The pacific inclinations of Leopold were evident. M. Delessart impressed upon the assembly that it was necessary to act with prudence, and especially not to expose themselves to the consequences of a declaration which would prescribe to the emperor a fixed time for declaring his real intentions, as well as any other condition which vanity alone might consider as an insult. This pointed out clearly enough the delicacy which the embarrassing situation of the cabinet of Vienna required, on account of the engagements already entered into with Prussia and the states of the empire on contingent bases, but it also showed to the enemies of peace at home and abroad, the vulnerable point of the negotiation. The spirit and the recommendations of the report were entirely in this sense. Kock had even enforced, as a favorable omen of the issue of the negotiations for the consolidation of peace, the spontaneous acts in conformity with the desire of the king, of the elector of Treves, and the Duke of Wurtemberg, directors of the circles of Swabia and Franconia. The discussion immediately began. Brissot was the first heard. The following were his introductory words. "The mask has at length fallen—your real enemy is known. The order given to general Bender tells you his name; it is the emperor. The electors were but his

substitutes, the emigrants were only an instrument in his hands; you must now despise the emigrants. It is for the supreme tribunal to revenge the nation for the revolt of these mendicant princes. Cromwell compelled France and Holland to expel Charles II. Such a persecution would do too much honor to the princes; seize their property and abandon them to their insignificance." This violent exordium, applauded by the galleries, excited among us murmurs of indignation. Brissot, to prove that the emperor's despatch was an act of hostility, gave a quite opposite meaning to the pacific intentions of that prince. He designated all the communications between the cabinet of the Tuileries and that of Vienna, as culpable connivances and treason. His perfidious reasoning, sometimes eloquent but always full of gall, manifested an ardent desire to render any accommodation impossible, and to rouse the resentment of the powers by insulting provocations. After having supposed and fabricated a plan of aggression, giving his suspicions as certainties, the speaker exclaimed, "such are the secret wishes of your enemies; they are kings, and you are people, they are despots and you are free. Now there is no sincere agreement between tyranny and liberty. The foreign tyrants desire either to crush or to deceive us. They cannot yet crush us, they therefore endeavor to deceive us."

Impatient of the least delay, Brissot rejected the advice of the committee to claim the execution of the treaty of alliance of 1756, and by this means to hasten a more satisfactory declaration on the part of the emperor. He said, "we must either tear our constitution or tear the treaties which offend it. Now all treaties made with the court of Vienna in 1756 offend it essentially." And further on, carried on by his virulent declamations, this vehement advocate of war, throwing off his mask, revealed the secret of the faction. "I told you I have but one fear; it is that we shall not have war, and this fear is realised, for in all the cabinets the desire of war has been only a scarecrow to frighten you." The recommendations of this speech were nothing less than a spontaneous rupture of the existing treaties, and immediately to invite the king, to notify to the emperor Leopold, that the most prompt military measures would be taken to act offensively, if he did not before the 10th of February, 1792, give such satisfac-

tion, that all the apprehensions of France should be entirely dispelled. The debate having been renewed the next day, 18th of January, I was the first who was called to the tribune. The previous speaker, by disfiguring the facts, by laying down absolute principles to force these consequences, had misplaced the question. I thought it my duty to put it on its right footing, and to confine it within the circle, and the terms of the constitution.

Vergniaud, who succeeded me in the tribune, developed in the first instance, with emphatic eloquence, the causes of the agitation of the minds of the people, and imputing them to the manœuvres of the emigrants, "the national clemency," said he, "by an imprudent amnesty, by a dark diplomacy, by counter-revolutionary principles, permitted a storm to increase abroad, which now threatens to inflame our horizon." Repeating the reasoning of Brissot, and like him, putting suppositions in the room of facts, the speaker showed that the emperor Leopold was in a state of flagrant hostility against France.

Replying then to my observations on the reciprocal obligations of the treaty of 1756, and the advantages which might be derived from it in the negotiation, Vergniaud rejected them as dilatory and pusillanimous, and considered the treaty as broken by the emperor. He concurred in the opinion of Brissot against the opinion of the committee, and declared that the intentions of Leopold had manifested themselves by facts, and that it was not an explanation of his intentions, but satisfaction for those facts which ought to be demanded. He proposed that the emperor should be required, not only to disperse the assemblages of emigrants which might take place in his dominions, but likewise to expel from his territory such of the emigrants as were under the avenging hand of the law, and that an explanation should be required from Leopold respecting his assent of the conclusum of the diet of Ratisbon. After having drawn the circle of Popilius, quoting the example of Rome, declaring that she would treat as her enemies all kings who should give an asylum to Hannibal, and calling to mind the celebrated philippic of Demosthenes, Vergniaud terminated his in the following manner:

"And I too, if it were possible that you should indulge in a dangerous security, because you are told that the

emigrants are removing from the electorate of Treves, if you suffer yourselves to be seduced by insidious news, by facts which prove nothing, or by insignificant promises, I would say to you, are you told that emigrants are assembling at Worms and at Coblentz, you send an army to the banks of the Rhine; are you told that they are assembled in the Low Countries, you send an army to Flanders; are you informed that they retreat to the centre of Germany, you lay down your arms.

"Are letters or despatches published in which you are insulted, then your indignation is excited and you desire to fight. Are you softened by flattering words, are you illuded by false hopes, then you think of peace. Thus, gentlemen, the emigrants and Leopold are your chiefs, they dispose of your armies, they regulate their movements, it is they who dispose of your citizens, of your treasures; they are the arbiters of your destiny."

This debate, which was animated by such great interests and such strong passions, and was continued in the following sittings, was interrupted by some incidental questions, and particularly by the report which I made, in the name of the military committee, on the recruiting of the army. M. Narbonne, the minister of war, had asked the assembly to provide for the speedy levy of 51,000 men, who were wanting to raise the army of the line to its full complement. He pointed out the individual incorporation of national guards, taken from the battalions recently organised, as the mode of recruiting, which would be the most easy, the most expeditious, and that which might furnish the best kind of men. I participated in this opinion, and yet, though the majority of the military committee to which the proposal was referred, rejected the mode suggested by the minister, and preferred to raise recruits by means of a bounty, for the troops of the line of all arms, I was, nevertheless, appointed to make the report to the assembly. The debate was very animated, because the republican party desired at all events, to maintain the integrity of the battalions of the national guards and the separation of that part of the army, composed of volunteer citizen-soldiers, from the army of the line, which consisted of enlisted soldiers. The permanence of this part of the army gave them umbrage.

The plan of the committee was attacked, first by my

honorable friend Jaucourt, who supported the proposal of the minister by very solid arguments drawn from experience. His opinion was seconded by the minority of the military committee, such as Dubayet, Huyan, Crublier, d'Opterre. I took this opportunity to state and develope my own opinion, notwithstanding the apparent contradiction of these developments with the arguments which I had conscientiously enforced in the report, in the name of the committee. After a warm debate, the fusion of the national guards in the troops of the line, which in the sequel became the principle of the excellent organisation of the French armies, was rejected by the assembly, which adopted with various amendments the plan of the committee.

On the 19th the debate on the emperor's despatch was resumed, and Beugnot opened it by a very good speech, in which he supported the plan of the committee. Other members having spoken on both sides, Condorcet at length ascended the tribune, when he delivered the famous speech announced by Vergniaud, as certain to carry conviction into every mind, and to deprive the partisans of conciliatory measures of every pretext for hesitation. The nervous and pure style of the philosophic academician answered the expectations which his friends had excited. This speech, a real republican manifesto, remains as a model of the art of oratory, and contemporary historians and writers of memoirs have almost all quoted it word for word, as those of Mirabeau had been before. After this just eulogium, and without stopping to analyse a document which is so well known, I must say that it made no other impression on me than that of an eloquent, but too vague declamation. We find in it a lively picture, in the form of interrogations, of the effects which the principles of the French revolution must have produced among foreigners, and their probable effects on the state of society in the nations of Europe. In this elevated and philosophical point of view, Condorcet examined the interests of all sovereigns, and gave them very wise counsel, but without deigning to descend to the difficulties of their application. It was a political Utopia. He did not discuss, he did not even approach the question, but accused the ministers of having excited it by negligence, defective views, a stupid or culpable inactivity. Remarkable words! a fatal

augury of the mortal blow which was to be given a few days after to the unfortunate Delessart. The peroration of this speech led only to the following conclusion, as vain as the general considerations, which the speaker had clothed in all the charms of eloquence.

"The king shall be requested to send to foreign powers, men worthy of the confidence of the people, and instructed to convince themselves of the disposition of each; to make known the principles and the views of France; to destroy the effect of the false insinuations spread by the enemy; lastly, to propose, and to negotiate treaties of alliance, of commerce, and guarantee, which may secure the general peace, the independence of each nation, and the common prosperity of every empire."

The subject appeared to be exhausted, and the principal point, the demand to be made of a categorical explanation from the emperor in a certain time, could not fail to unite all suffrages in its favor. It was now hardly any thing more than a dispute about words; some would have a satisfaction, others an explanation. Herault de Séchelles, who voted with the Girondins, desired to propose a project of a decree which, he said, would reconcile the views of both parties. He was going to ascend the tribune, when the marshal de Rochambeau appeared at the bar to thank the national assembly, and to make a frank profession of fidelity to the nation and to the king; he took this opportunity to state the situation, the wants, and the good spirit of the army. Covered with unanimous applause, complimented in the most worthy and expressive manner by the president, Guadet, he was admitted to the honors of the sitting. I was particularly affected by the reception given to my respected general, whom I hoped to accompany to the army, and I received with gratitude the proofs of his regard. Gratitude to my old general made it my duty to offer him my services; he told me that he intended me for the post of the chief of the staff of his army, and as, like some other officers, members of the legislative body, whom he meant to employ in his staff, I could not go to the army without the consent of the assembly, the marshal wrote on the 26th of January, a letter to the president, requesting that I and two other officers should be permitted to take the unctions for which he destined us in his staff.

After the letter had been read, my friends surrounded

me, being resolved to keep me. Different proposals were made. I said that, considering the natural desire of a soldier, I begged the assembly to decide on my formal request, for leave of absence to join the army in the north. On the report of the military committee, to which Marshal Rochambeau's letter had been referred, the assembly resolved that there was no ground to deliberate, either on the letter, or on my application for leave of absence. The project presented by Herault de Séchelles was nearly the same as that of the diplomatic committee. The strong expressions of the preamble satisfied the most ardent. The discussion being closed, this project obtained the priority, and after the adoption of some amendments, the decree was definitely passed on the 25th of January.

A few days afterwards, professor Koch, in the name of the diplomatic committee, presented a special report on the letter of the Emperor Leopold to the king, written in consequence of the conclusum of the diet of Ratisbon. This able publicist examined and discussed profoundly, with all the advantages of learning, and the support of the most authentic documents, the three following questions.

1. Was the absolute sovereignty of France over Alsace and Lorraine founded on treaties? Had it been formally recognised by the Germanic body?

2. Could the rights reserved by the treaties to the princes of the empire limit the exercise of the French sovereignty?

3. Did the guarantee stipulated by the treaties of Westphalia authorise the emperor or the empire, or other European powers, to interfere in the difference.

Koch proved to demonstration that the pretensions of the princes, and the maintenance of the feudal rights, which had been reserved to them by treaties since the session, could not be maintained without violating the constitution. He resolved the first question in the affirmative. The solidity and the perspicuity of his reasoning left no doubt, no obscurity on the rights incontestably accruing to France by the exercise of absolute sovereignty. The second and third questions were answered in the negative. The conclusion of this admirable report, which I moved should be printed and translated into all the languages of Europe, was the following draft of a decree:—

"The king shall be requested to cause the negotiations entered into with the princes holding possessions in Alsace

and Lorraine to be continued in such manner that provision be immediately made for the indemnity which has been granted them by preceding decrees, by all the means compatible with the principles of justice and of the French constitution."

While couriers were carrying to Vienna this kind of ultimatum, the proud declaration of the national assembly and the despatches by which the French ministry had endeavored to moderate its effects and explain its causes, in order to prevent the fatal consequences which it had foreseen; while the emperor Leopold on his side, always entertaining pacific intentions, but alarmed and irritated by the violent speeches and hasty resolutions of the national assembly, renewed with the court of Berlin the project of an offensive and defensive alliance, which had been suspended since the acceptance of the constitution by the king of France, the republican party prosecuted its plan of aggression against the king's government. It excited popular passions, it spread distrust and suspicion of the connivance of the cabinet of the Tuileries with that of Vienna. The tribune of the Jacobins resounded with the cries of war; inflammatory petitions were applauded; the sittings of the assembly became every day more tumultuous. On the 17th of February, the priest Fauchet denounced Delessart, the minister of foreign affairs, against whom, in a most outrageous speech, he accumulated the most calumnious inculpations. But the assembly prevented him from finishing his vehement declamation by passing to the order of the day. Yet the party, which would not lose the effect of this false attack, because it was preparing another of a more serious nature, demanded and obtained a reference of denunciation to the committee of legislation.

According to the regulations, the bureau of the assembly was changed every fortnight, and the choice of the president was a pretty certain sign of the respective situation of the parties of the equilibrium of the three fractions of the assembly. Out of ten presidents, who had succeeded each from the opening of the session on the 1st of October, 1791, to the 21st of February, 1792, four belonged to the right side or the constitutional party, three to the left, the republican party, and three to the centre, the neutral party.

On the 20th of February I was nominated president, and succeeded Condorcet in the chair. Out of 407 votes I had obtained 229. The balance therefore still inclined to our side, and it is evident that at this time, which was that when the Girondins made the greatest efforts, and the greatest fermentation prevailed, the members who called themselves independent, and who sat in the centre, had it in their power to determine the majority, to fix it in the constitutional party and to change the face of affairs. This they did not do; and history is fully authorised to accuse them of the misfortunes which ensued. What passed while I was president but too fully confirms this truth.

In the first sitting at which I presided, an extraordinary deputation from Marseilles was introduced at the bar. The object of this deputation was to denounce the municipality and the city of Arles, as having detained upon the road some arms intended for Marseilles. The spokesman, in a virulent discourse, accused the directory of the department and the civil commissioners who had been sent thither, of checking the patriotic enthusiasm and of conniving with the counter-revolutionists at home and abroad. He announced the approaching out-break of a civil war in the departments of the south, and required that 20,000 muskets and 20,000 sabres should be granted to the city of Marseilles to arm the inhabitants. He designated, he denounced the mayor of Arles, his own brother, as the head of the party which ought to be exterminated. I replied, in the name of the assembly, that it had foreseen these alarms, that it had already turned its attention to the defence of the maritime frontier, and that it would oppose with full confidence, to all the enemies of liberty, the insurmountable barrier of the laws. The honors of the sitting were not asked for the deputation of the Marseillais. The scandal of a man accusing his own brother excited the indignation of all generous minds; but the warmth with which the republicans supported this denunciation, and extended it to all the departments of the south, sufficiently proved that it had been prepared and concerted with the popular societies, in which the flame of insurrection against the constituted authorities was constantly fanned.

Vaublanc then spoke, and participating, as he said, in

the alarms of the speakers, he courageously revealed the true causes of them.

"Have we a solid and respected government? No; and we shall not have such a government, so long as popular societies, whose intentions I do not condemn, but whose excesses I blame, shall impede the course of the magistrates, shall disguise and vilify the exercise of their authority, so long as sections of the people shall exercise a vengeance which belongs to justice alone. Such, gentlemen, is the true evil which threatens public tranquillity."

This address excited violent murmurs. Vaublanc was supported by Crestin, who with the same energy showed the frightful progress of the disorganisation of the authorities. "Do you not feel gentlemen," cried he, "that all the bonds of government are daily breaking in your hands? The disorganisation of the constituted authorities will soon lead us, if we do not take care, to excite town against town, and this will be the beginning of the dissolution of the body politic. Already you see Marseilles march against Arles, and soon Arles will rise against its neighbor. It will be like a match, which will set fire to the whole kingdom, if it is not extinguished at the outset."

The attack of the constitutionalists against the popular societies was as energetic as important; the members of the centre appeared inclined to support it, and yet the order of the day was adopted by a slender majority. But as Guadet had desired to speak, it was my duty to consult the assembly; he was heard, and continued the debate by a speech in favor of popular societies, on which he bestowed a pompous eulogium.

In the sitting of the 23d, the debate was renewed by the motion of Mouysset, notwithstanding the opposition of the contrary party. This motion tended to hinder the meeting of deputies, either at the Jacobin or other clubs; proposing to the assembly to decree that on all those days on which there should be no evening sitting, the hall should be open to all those deputies who should come to confer there. The deputies of the Gironde saw clearly that this motion was directed against their influence, and hastened to oppose it. After a long and vehement debate the greatest confusion prevailed. Mouysset withdrew his motion, we were forsaken by the centre, and the assembly passed to the order for the day, amidst the boisterous

applauses of the galleries, which were crowded with members of the Jacobin club. With these applauses and extravagant demonstrations of joy, were mingled vociferations and abuse, particularly directed against me, though I had presided in the course of this stormy debate with the firmest impartiality. Some went even so far as to insult my wife, when she was leaving a reserved seat, where she had been recognised. Thus the hope and opportunity of rallying the constitutional majority, of checking the frightful progress of the popular societies, and of supporting the government, which was hastening to its ruin, were for ever lost.

The republican party, eager to profit by the advantages which had been gained by the ill-success of the attack made by the constitutionalists, resumed offensive measures. It obtained the renewal of the diplomatic committee, which was instructed to examine the treaty of 1756, of which the Girondins desired to obtain the rupture, because they foresaw that such a rupture would infallibly lead to war, in case the answer of the emperor, which was impatiently expected, should not afford them just reasons or plausible pretexts to engage in it. This answer at length arrived at the latter end of February, in the form of a despatch from the chancellor, prince Kaunitz, addressed to M. de Blumendorf, the Austrian chargé-d'affaires, at Paris. Delessart, the minister for foreign affairs, came to the sitting of the 1st of March, to communicate to the assembly all the documents relative to this negotiation; he caused the reading of the official paper to be preceded by an extract from his own despatch to the marquis de Noailles, in which he acquainted the French ambassador with the orders and the intentions of the king to obtain from the court of Vienna the positive explanations required by the assembly. This first communication was certainly not necessary. It was spontaneous and confidential on the part of the minister, and attested his good faith. The exposition of the situation of France, and that of our causes of complaint, were so clearly, so frankly developed, that not a single expression was at first remarked which was not conformable to the principles of the constitution, and the intentions of the assembly. The reading of this letter was even received with applauses, and yet this same

document served, in the sequel, as the ground for the most false interpretations.

Before proceeding to the communication of the official note of prince Kaunitz to M. de Blumendorf, M. Delessart addressing me, said, "Mr. President, the despatch which has just been read was not intended for publicity; it had been communicated confidentially to the minister of the emperor, and it is in some measure by an abuse of confidence that he has made use of it in such a manner that it has become public. This despatch contains the secret of my thoughts; it is essential that all I think should be known; the disadvantageous situation in which my department places me will then be no longer abused, incessantly to direct against me suspicious imputations and reproaches, equally contrary to justice and to truth."

This sincere declaration, far from disarming the levellers, only aggravated in the eyes of the republicans the suspicion of connivance between the two cabinets, and the contents of the imperial note furnished but too many pretexts for this unjust imputation. The several documents which are reported in all the chronicles of the time, and which all contemporary historians have repeated, are now so well known, that I think it unnecessary to insert them here.

Prince Kaunitz, while protesting the pacific intentions of Leopold, justified the convention of Pilnitz, and the measures before concerted between the powers to maintain the honor and safety of the crowns. He excused these measures by the fear of the propagation of revolutionary principles, subversive of all other forms of government in Europe; he proved that these purely defensive measures had been, if not revoked, at least stopped and suspended, since the free acceptance of the constitution by the king. But then coming to the present state of things, Kaunitz drew a hideous and too accurate a picture of the anarchy which was beginning to overspread France, which sapped the foundation of the constitution, and threatened to overturn the throne of the king of France.

Interfering in our internal government, in our domestic quarrels, the emperor anathematized the popular societies, addressed the sound part of the nation, and saw no security for the preservation of peace but in the ruin of the Jacobin party.

The republicans bore impatiently the reading of this

declaration of Leopold, and of the circulars and other diplomatic documents by which it was accompanied. Immediately afterwards, the minister for foreign affairs gave diverse information respecting the state of the imperial forces in the Netherlands and in the Brisgau, and added:—"Now, M. President, the king has judged that he ought not to defer acquainting the emperor with the impression which his answer has made upon him, and the course which his majesty has thought proper to adopt. In consequence the ambassador of France is instructed to declare to the court of Vienna that the king has not judged it suitable to the dignity or to the independence of the nation, to enter into a discussion on subjects, which concern only the internal situation of the kingdom. The king requires of the emperor, to put an end to all plans concerted against France; he offers, or rather renews to him the assurance of union and peace; he calls upon him for a similar manifestation of his sentiments; he requires that it shall be prompt, sincere and categorical, and as a pledge of reciprocal fidelity, the king promises, that as soon as the emperor shall have entered into an engagement to stop all preparations for war in his dominions, and to place the military force in the Netherlands and in the Brisgau on the same footing as it was in the month of February, 1791, his majesty will in like manner cease all preparations, and reduce the French troops in the frontier departments to the ordinary amount of the garrisons."

This important communication made on the several parties of the assembly an impression as diverse as the views and opinions which divided us. The Jacobins resented, as an insult to the nation, the inculpations of anarchy imputed to them in the despatch of Prince Kaunitz, and the contempt which it manifested of the popular societies. The Girondins saw in it with joy motives to force a declaration of war, and, like the Jacobins, took no account of the pacific inclinations of Leopold. The constitutionalists, who might justly have held the same language as the emperor's minister, on the principal cause of the internal troubles, and the difference which had arisen between the foreign powers and France were no less offended than all the rest of the assembly, at the pretensions of the cabinet of Vienna to interfere in

our affairs, and to counsel, and dictate in the most unbecoming tone, the conduct which the defenders of the constitution and the king ought to adopt. And yet they were far from rejecting, like their adversaries, the last ray of hope of preserving peace, which the personal inclination of the emperor, and the answer made by M. Delessart in the name of the king, permitted them to cherish.

No member obtained leave to speak, and all the documents were referred to the diplomatic committee; but in the evening sitting of the same day, Rouyer expressly moved, that the diplomatic committee, united with the committee of legislation, should present to the chamberlain three days' observations, to be addressed to the king, on the bad conduct of Delessart, who, he said, had shamefully caused the king to hold language unworthy of him, and of the nation which he had the honor to represent. This motion was seconded by Mailhe. I was reluctantly obliged to put to the vote the reference of this denunciation, and to see it adopted without a discussion.

On the 5th of March, 1792, I quitted the president's chair, and was succeeded by Guyton de Morveau.

The storm which threatened the executive government could no longer be averted. Anarchy was in the king's council, as well as in the assembly and in the mass of the people. The intrigues which divided the ministers, gave them up without defence to the attacks of the republican party. Narbonne, the minister of war, a man of talent and courage, had very properly undertaken to rouse the court from the inactive and temporising system, which is always fatal in critical times, but was too well suited to the irresolute character of Louis XVI. His firmness, his activity, and his manners had rendered him very popular. Bertrand de Molleville, the minister of marine, his antagonist, a skilful intriguer, had quite opposite designs; by dissembling them he had gained the confidence of the monarch, and defeated all the efforts of Narbonne to obtain it. Delessart, the minister for foreign affairs, who had become suspected on account of his prudence in a most difficult negotiation, odious to the Girondins by his personal attachment to the king, acted sincerely, and confined himself to the duties of his office, declaring neither for Narbonne nor for Bertrand. The latter had gained

the advantage: a letter of the minister of war, indiscreetly published, served him as a pretext for getting rid of his rival, and Narbonne was succeeded by de Grave. The communication of this change reached the assembly on the 10th of March, at which sitting Brissot was to make his report; the storm broke out.

The dismissal of Narbonne displeased all parties; the proposal to declare, as had been done in the case of Necker, that the regret of the nation accompanied him, was unanimously approved. The republicans taking advantage of the temper of the assembly, Guadet rushed to the tribune. "At length," said he, "the day is come, when incredulity itself must be forced to avow the plots, framed by the ministry against the liberties of France." After some more violent observations, he declared that the assembly ought to examine the conduct of each of the ministers.

Brissot, the reporter of the diplomatic committee, vehemently accused Delessart, and the bitterness of his expressions, the animosity of the party, leading me to judge what the conclusion would be, I sent word to Delessart, that considering what was passing, I advised him to come immediately to the assembly and demand a hearing. But he, strong in the consciousness of his innocence, declined.

The speech of Brissot was a virulent statement, divided into three parts: first, the examination of the confidential note of Delessart to M. de Noailles, of the 21st of January; secondly, the answer of prince Kaunitz to this despatch, thirdly, the king's answer to the emperor, dated the 20th of February. In a long commentary on these official documents, put together with equal subtlety and perfidy, Brissot, perverting the meaning of the motives and the expressions, had framed a system of plots and deceptions agreed upon between the two cabinets. The result of this report was the proposal of an act of accusation, which was carried: the assembly decreeing that the executive power should be commissioned to give the necessary orders to have him arrested, and all his papers sealed.

I hastened to the minister, and was the first to inform him of the decree passed against him. "You have but a few moments," said I, "to save your head from the fury of your accusers. Do not depend on the protection of the law; your ruin is necessary to the designs of the faction; it is resolved upon and certain." He, however, refused

to fly; I could not persuade him, that neither duty nor honor obliged him to brave such dangers. He was immoveable, and rushed voluntarily upon his destruction, which I had but too well foreseen. Three days after, on the 14th of March, Brissot presented a draft of sixteen heads of accusation against Delessart, which was adopted, and the minister ordered to be tried before the supreme national tribunal. After this unhappy day the constitutional party could give but feeble support to the government, for it found none itself in a disorganised ministry, which resisted but a few days longer the repeated blows of the Gironde and the Jacobins. All the ministers were successively denounced, and escaped a decree of accusation by voluntarily quitting their posts. Even Narbonne himself, notwithstanding his popularity, which had rendered him suspected at court and occasioned his removal from office, was attacked by the Jacobins, and had to justify himself at the bar of the assembly. The seclusion and irresolution of the king in this serious crisis, the confusion which reigned in the legislative body, presented a most afflicting sight; notwithstanding the apparent agreement of the Jacobins and the Girondins, it was easy to perceive the germs of their future divisions. The former bore with impatience the ascendancy which the latter had acquired by their talents, to which, however, they were obliged to give way. The Girondins judged the moment favorable to get into power, and negotiated secretly with the king. Their offers were accepted as a matter of necessity, and the council was soon composed of their friends and creatures, the constitution forbidding the members of the legislative body to exercise public functions. The first person who appeared on this new stage, was general Dumouriez, who was appointed minister for foreign affairs, the very day after the unfortunate Delessart had been taken away from the confidence of the king. This ambitious adventurer, who possessed real military and political talent, a restless and inconstant spirit, an able and audacious intriguer, had at once gained the confidence of the republicans, and given pledges to the popular societies, even putting on the red cap. The Girondin Gensonné, who, by his connections with Delaporte, the intendant of the civil list, had caused Dumouriez to be proposed to the king, moved, in the sitting of the 14th of March, immediately after the

adoption of the decree of accusation against Delessart, that the assembly should present an address to the king, with a view to enlighten the monarch, and to induce him to enter more frankly into the views of the assembly by placing in the ministry men of tried patriotism; but the real object of this step was to show the majority gained by the Gironde party, and to point out, or rather to impose upon the king, such a choice of persons, as should secure to the party the same influence in the council that they exercised in the assembly. It was an imitation of one of the most remarkable acts of the constituent assembly, namely, the celebrated address of Mirabeau. Their similarity struck every body. Gensonné read the proposed decree, which was drawn up with much art and eloquence. I shall quote only a few words of the exordium and the peroration. "Sire, a decree of accusation, passed by the national assembly against one of your ministers, is a painful measure which has been imposed upon us by our duties; but though it falls upon a man of your choice, you cannot but approve of it, because the patriotism of the throne ought in no case to differ from that of the representatives of the nation." * * * * "Sire, a new course is necessary; you hear the wish of all France. Let your ministers have a character which shall raise them above all suspicion; let their conduct show men of resolution, who do not merely follow their duty but their inclinations in serving the constitution; let them appear less to obey than to love it."

In this address the republican language, the bitterness of the reproaches of supineness made to the executive power, were tempered by the exposition of a doctrine which was perfectly constitutional, and by respectful expression. The Jacobins saw only a snare in these attempts at conciliation. They opposed the adoption of the address; Bazire exclaimed that these lamentations did not become the assembly; that the constitution appointed it to watch over the executive power, to pursue its agents, but not to enlighten it. Gensonné withdrew his motion.

The new ministers were proclaimed. They were Dumouriez for foreign affairs, De Grave, who was retained in the war department, and who acted only under the influence of Dumouriez; the advocate Duranthon, for the

department of justice, Lacoste for the marine, Clavière for the finances, and Roland for the interior.

This last, an enlightened and able man, affected republican austerity in his manners and his conduct. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the chiefs of the Gironde, who met every day at Madame Roland's. This lady, who was celebrated for her enlarged understanding, her elegance of manners, and above all for her heroic courage, even on the scaffold, was the soul of this council. In the cabinet, she gave her husband the assistance of her pen, and in the drawing-room she inspired his friends with her own enthusiasm.

Events rapidly succeeded each other. Domouriez thought only of rendering the declaration of war inevitable, because he looked upon it as a certain means to rise, to take the ascendant over his colleagues, and to make himself popular with the party which had elevated him to power. He had not failed, from his entrance into the ministry, to demand of the court of Vienna, as he said himself in his letter of 27th of March, a categorical and decisive answer, in the name of the assembly and of the king. While waiting for this reply, he communicated the despatch addressed to his predecessor, by M. de Noailles, which included a letter from the French ambassador to M. de Kaunitz, and the answer of the Austrian minister to that letter. I must here observe, that the arrival at Vienna of the last despatches of Delessart coincided with the sudden death of the Emperor Leopold. The letter which M. de Noailles addressed to M. de Kaunitz on this unexpected occasion, was conformable to the instructions of M. Delessart, in execution of the resolution of the assembly: this letter acquaints us with the last terms of the negotiation before the rupture, and as it is equally important for the justification of the unfortunate minister and the honor of his memory, I think it my duty to state the substance of it. * * * * * *

"His majesty finds in the answer of his late imperial majesty pacific and friendly overtures, which he has eagerly embraced; as it is necessary, however, to put an end to a state of uncertainty, which has been too much prolonged, the king declares that, placing his confidence in his attachment, and in that of the French nation to the

constitution, and likewise confiding in the affection of the French people, he cannot see without pain a concert which has no object, and which appears to be a subject of alarm. The king, therefore, calls upon his ally to put an end to this concert, and he repeats to him the assurance of union and peace; he manifests explicitly his intentions; he reckons on the same frankness, and the same promptitude in the declarations which he expects. As a pledge of reciprocal fidelity, the king has instructed his ambassador to promise that, as soon as his imperial majesty shall have entered into an engagement to stop all military preparations in his dominions, and to replace the military force in the Netherlands, and the Brisgau, on the same footing as they were on the 1st of April, 1790, his majesty will likewise suspend all preparations, and reduce the French troops in the frontier departments to the usual state of the garrisons. It is in this determination, the only one becoming the dignity of two great states, and agreeable to their respective interests, that the king has recognised the sentiments which he expected from his late majesty the imperial emperor, his brother-in-law, and the ancient ally of France; lastly, the ambassador has been instructed to observe that, after a proposal so legal and so formal, the king reckoned on an answer which should bear the same character, and announce the wish to put an end to a situation, in which France cannot and will not remain any longer."

Instead of the answer which the pacific intentions of Leopold had given reason to expect, M. de Kaunitz, recalling preceding facts, referred to explanations already given, and thus confirmed the offensive interference, at which the assembly had been unanimously incensed.

Not to interrupt the narrative of facts, and the mention of documents, essentially relative to the question of war, I proceed to the sitting of the 14th of April, in which the minister for foreign affairs gave an account of what had passed at Vienna after the death of the emperor Leopold, and the accession of his successor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and of the result of the instructions which he had given to the French ambassador on entering on his ministry. I shall not, however, neglect to mention in the sequel, some events which occurred in the short interval which I pass over.

The minister for foreign affairs had deferred making known his own despatch of the 19th of March to M. de Noailles, till the answer of the latter had reached him, and this twofold communication, which was to put an end to all uncertainty, was impatiently expected. Dumouriez, in his new instructions, began by blaming the weakness of his predecessor in the conduct of the negotiation; he likewise reproached the French ambassador for having officiously communicated to the Austrian minister the confidential letter of Delessart. * * * * * * * Then assuming a tone of disdainful haughtiness, which could not fail to please his new protectors, Dumouriez arrogantly prophesied all the misfortunes which would fall upon the house of Austria.

These threats, indiscreet hints, respecting the state of the minds of the people in the Netherlands, the remembrance of the insurrection of the Genoese, the demand of a prompt and decisive answer to put an end to the crisis, all this was only calculated to irritate the pride of the cabinet of Vienna, and to break the last threads of a negotiation, which had hitherto been carried on in a spirit quite contrary to its apparent object, which was the preservation of peace. Accordingly the French ambassador, despairing to obtain any modification of the preceding declarations of prince Kaunitz, instead of delivering his new credentials, earnestly requested permission to retire. "My time is finished," he said; "I am obliged to confess my perfect inability henceforth to render any service to my country here." M. de Noailles added in his official despatch, "there is no room to doubt that affairs have in fact assumed a new face since the death of the emperor Leopold. * * * * The young monarch will necessarily suffer himself to be guided at the commencement of his reign. He will show, if not by his own character, at least by that of his ministry, great inflexibility in his principles."

After this despatch had been read, Dumouriez communicated his last reply of the 27th of March, which contained only a repetition of his first instructions, and which he laid before the assembly, he said, only to acquaint it with the state of the negotiation at the moment when the king took his resolution.

As *for the resolution which the king took*, M. de

Noailles having refrained from communicating officially the two despatches of Dumouriez to the Austrian minister, M. de Cobentzel, who had succeeded M. de Kaunitz, his majesty sent to the king of Bohemia and Hungary, by an extraordinary ambassador, the following autograph letter:—

"Sir—My brother and nephew. The tranquility of Europe depends upon the answer which your majesty shall make to the step, which I owe to the great interests of the French nation, to my glory, and to the good of the unhappy victims of the war, with which the concert of the powers menaces France. Your majesty cannot doubt that it is of my own will and freely that I have accepted the French constitution. I have sworn to maintain it; my tranquillity and my honor are identified with it; my fate is joined to that of the nation of which I am the hereditary representative, and which, notwithstanding the calumnies that are propagated against it, deserves and always will enjoy the esteem of all nations. The French have sworn to live free or die. M. de Molgue, whom I send as my ambassador extraordinary to your majesty, will explain to you the means which we still have to hinder and prevent the calamities of war which threaten Europe. In these sentiments, &c.

(Signed) "Louis."

The communication of Dumouriez's despatches, and especially that of the king's letter, was received with lively acclamations; but the conduct of M. de Noailles, notwithstanding the prudential motives by which he justified it, excited violent murmurs, and after some intemperate speeches, the assembly decreed that there were grounds to impeach the ambassador; but on the following day the minister for foreign affairs informed the assembly that a despatch, which he had just received from M. de Noailles, proved that the ambassador had followed the king's orders, and that after a short hesitation he had resolved to deliver the ultimatum of the French government to M. Cobentzel. It was proposed to revoke the decree of impeachment; the members on the left opposed it, the proposal was referred to the diplomatic committee and adjourned, and it was not till the 19th of April, after

having a new despatch of M. de Noailles, that the decree of impeachment was revoked.

The last answer made by M. Cobentzel confirmed the preceding declaration of the court of Vienna, and reduced to the following terms the conditions of a reciprocal disarming and the restoration of good harmony:—1st, the satisfaction of the princes holding possessions in France; 2d, satisfaction of the Pope for the country of Avignon; 3d, the measures which France should think fit to take, but which should be such that the government should have sufficient power to repress every thing that might alarm the neighboring states.

In this same sitting of the 19th of April, Dumouriez read a letter from the king, by which his majesty announced to the national assembly that he intended to repair to it on the following day, the 20th of April, at half-past twelve.

The republicans had gained their object; they had forced the king to concur in the execution of their designs by reducing him to the inevitable necessity of yielding to the advice of his council, and of proposing to the legislative assembly the declaration of war. In fact the king went to the assembly as he had announced. His countenance, the change of his features, and his voice expressed the deepest affliction and his gloomy forebodings. He first caused the report of the minister for foreign affairs, on the political situation of France, to be communicated to the assembly. This report, which had led to the deliberation of the council, was only a recapitulation of the documents already known, of the ministerial correspondence, between the two courts till their respective ultimatum. * * * * * * * *

After having enumerated as far as he could the various grounds of complaint, in a long preamble, Dumouriez, considering that according to the constitution, which did not permit the nation to declare itself in a state of war (which it is well known the king would have preferred in order to leave a road to pacification still open), had suggested that the king, accompanied by his ministers, should repair to the national assembly to propose to it war with Austria.

The reading of the report being concluded, the king, in a voice of deep emotion, pronounced the following speech.

"You have now heard, gentlemen, the result of the

negotiations which I have carried on with the court of Vienna. The recommendations of the report are the unanimous opinion of my council; I have adopted them myself. They are conformable to the wish which the national assembly has several times manifested to me, and to the sentiments which have been expressed by a great number of citizens, in different parts of my kingdom. They all prefer war, to seeing any longer the dignity of the French people insulted, and the national safety threatened.

"It was my duty first, to employ all means to maintain peace. I now come, according to the constitution, to propose to the national assembly, war with the king of Hungary and Bohemia."

The king withdrew; he was but faintly applauded. The president closed the sitting, which was resumed on the same day at five o'clock. The public galleries were crowded. The Girondins first proposed by La Source, a member of the diplomatic committee, one of their number, to refer the proposal to that committee. We supported this motion, which gave us time to examine the arguments brought forward by Dumouriez, and furnished us with an opportunity to justify our opinions and our sentiments; but seeing that the motion was ill received by the Jacobins and the galleries, the Girondins changed their manœuvres, and Mailhe, who was likewise a member of the diplomatic committee, asked and obtained that the debate should commence immediately. We opposed in vain this precipitate resolution. Pastoret spoke first, and after saying that the assembly should not suffer itself to be led away by exaggerated impulses of enthusiasm, he was the first to propose, that the assembly, deliberating on the formal proposal of the king, should decree that there were grounds to declare war.

As we had foreseen that the intolerance of the republicans would not suffer the debate to proceed freely, we agreed that only one of our speakers should appear in the tribune; Becquey offered himself, and had prepared to support in this unequal struggle, which on that account was the more honorable, the cause of truth, and the system of pacification. He performed his task with equal courage and talent. Referring to the documents successively produced by the two ministers, Delessart and

Dumouriez, he re-established the facts which had been disfigured, in order to multiply the obstacles to the preservation of peace. Attempts were made to stop him in his developments. The president, Bigot de Preameneu, declared that he had a right to proceed, but the interruptions became more frequent, when the speaker, examining the interests and respective situations of the powers with regard to France, pointed out all the dangers and calamities of a war, which would kindle a flame throughout Europe, and cause the ruin of our institutions, which were not yet consolidated. "Lastly," said he in conclusion, "this war which is proposed to you, is the hope of all the enemies of the constitution; it is for war they sigh, and you will fulfil their wishes by attacking Austria. The emigrants are without support; they will find it in those whom we desire to attack. The enemies at home likewise loudly call for war; if you decide upon it, you will answer their most cherished desires. I move that the assembly shall decree that there are no grounds to debate upon the king's proposal; that the executive power remains charged to defend the nation against all hostility, and that it shall continue all the negotiations with the different powers of Europe, against every convention affecting the national independence, and to prevent any rupture with other nations."

The Girondins replied to Becquet's speech. Guadet, disdaining to follow him in his convincing and solid reasonings, affected ironically to find in it, arguments for his own opinion. Mailhe repeated trite declamations, and gained the applause of the galleries by demanding that war should be declared before they broke up. Cries of "question! war! war!" closed the debate, burst from the assembly and the galleries. In the midst of this confusion, Jaucourt called for the previous question; Dubayet proposed the reference to the diplomatic committee. Guadet and Brissot supported it, on condition that the report should be made during the sitting. Cries of "question! question! the decree!" redoubled. I rose to speak against closing the debate. I persisted, notwithstanding the hootings of the galleries, and the assembly decided that I should be heard. The debate being closed, the king's proposal was adopted, and referred to the diplomatic committee; that it might make its report before the sitting broke up. In the interval,

Condorcet said, "I have thought of the necessity of addressing to the French people and to foreign nations, a statement of the motives which have led to the decree which the assembly has just passed. I have drawn up a sketch of such a statement, which I ask the permission of the assembly to read."

It was in fact a new edition of the speech which he had delivered in the sitting of the 18th of January, and this second political manifesto was intended, according to the plan of the Gironde, to follow the report of the diplomatic committee; but the Jacobins had forestalled them, and the reading of this manifesto was given us, as an interlude between the two acts of this deplorable drama.

The object of this very eloquent address having been adjourned, Gensonné presented the draught of the decrees referred to the diplomatic committee.

The first decree, recapitulating the grounds of complaint against the court of Vienna, declared that there were no longer any hopes of obtaining redress, by a friendly negotiation, and that the conduct of the Austrian cabinet was equivalent to a declaration of war.

The second decree was as follows:—

"The national assembly declares that the French nation, faithful to the principles established by its constitutions, not to undertake any war with a view to conquest, and never to employ its forces against the liberty of any people, takes arms only for the preservation of its liberty and independence; that the war which it is obliged to maintain, is not a war between one nation and another, but the just defence of a free people against the unjust aggressions of a king; that the French will never confound their brethren with their real enemies; that they will neglect nothing to mitigate the scourge of war, and spare and preserve property, and to make all the misfortunes inseparable from war, fall upon those only who shall combine against its liberty; that it adopts before-hand all those, who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall come to range themselves under its standards, and devote their efforts to the defence of liberty; that it will favor, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France; deliberating on the formal proposition of the king, and having decreed the urgency of the measure, decrees war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia."

Thus the die was cast: proud and full of joy at having kindled this immense conflagration, the Girondins did not foresee that they were themselves going to be precipitated into the gulf of anarchy, almost as soon as the throne, the public liberty, and the constitution. They had dictated to the king the choice of his ministers; they influenced the resolutions of the councils; they ruled in the assembly, and they flattered themselves that with such means they should be able to modify the form of government at their pleasure, preserve popular favor, and stop at the point, which they themselves called "the supplement to the first revolution." They deceived themselves, and fancied that they still directed the movement, when they were already carried away by the torrent and driven beyond the limits of their own measures. They served the Jacobins, when they fancied they were served by them. The real chiefs of the latter, such as Danton, and especially Robespierre, had a fixed and determined object; they desired an entire subversion; and they proceeded without suffering themselves to be turned aside by any moral consideration. Certain of not being stopped in the continual violation of the laws, either by the constituted authorities or by the public force, they left to the Girondins the care, which was almost superfluous, of removing the obstacles which might be opposed to them, by the forms of the constitution, and the courage of those who defended the fundamental law. The insolence of the Jacobins was manifested, not only in the scandalous amnesty in favor of the assassins of the ice-pit of Avignon, of which I have already spoken, but likewise in the Saturnalia of the triumph of the soldiers of Château-Vieux, which took place some days afterwards. In these two essays of its fatal power, this terrible party constrained even the principal speakers of the Gironde, those austere and conscientious republicans, to serve as its advocates.

The soldiers of Château-Vieux being restored to liberty by our decree of the 31st of December, 1791, had been welcomed, when they left the prison at Brest, by the popular societies, and on the invitation of Pétion the mayor, sent to Paris, where the Jacobins prepared a triumphal fête for them. Collected and led by the notorious Collot-d'Herbois, they appeared at the bar. Before they were introduced Jaucourt, foreseeing and wishing to prevent a

disgraceful concurrence on the part of the majority of the assembly, rose to speak, and expressed with energy, though with moderation, the sentiments of grief and indignation with which so afflicting a spectacle filled all his friends. * * * * * "An amnesty," cried he, "is neither a triumph nor a civic crown. The troops of the line, who perished at Nancy, likewise served their country and obeyed the law and the decree of the legislative body, which applauded their conduct, and honored their death by a public mourning, which was worn by all the national guard. Would you see, in this same place, where their virtue was honored by funeral pomp, honors decreed to those who combated them? * * * * * The nation ought to put on mourning before this solemn act. You cannot dishonor the manes of the brave Desilles and those of the unfortunate citizen-soldiers, who were the first that perished for their country; you cannot pass a cruel censure on the constituent assembly, rend the hearts of all those who participated in that deplorable event, and insult the Swiss nation, at the moment of the renewal of the military convention. * * * * Fear lest the army should see in your conduct a reward of insubordination. * * I move that the soldiers of Château-Vieux be admitted at the bar, that they be not deprived of the pleasure of expressing their gratitude to you, but I demand that they shall not be admitted to the honors of the sitting."

This motion having excited the most vehement murmurs in a part of the assembly, and above all, in the public galleries, General Gouvion, formerly second in command of the Parisian national guard, and who in this post had so fully justified the confidence of M. de la Fayette, as well as that of the citizens of Paris, hastily ascended the tribune.

"Gentlemen," said he, "I had a brother, a true patriot, enjoying the esteem of his fellow-citizens, who was successively appointed commander of the national guard, and was member of the department, ready to sacrifice himself to the laws of his country. It was in the name of the law that he was called upon; it was in the name of the law that he marched to Nancy with the brave national guards; there he fell from five musket-shots. Gentlemen, I ask you if I can calmly see"— * * * Here Gou-

vion was interrupted by a voice, "Well, well, leave the assembly." He instantly replied, "If I did not respect the assembly, I venture to say, I would treat with the utmost disdain the coward who has been so bar . . . . The wretch then never had a brother worthy of esteem."

On leaving the tribune, General Gouvion quitted the hall, on the side whence the insulting expression had been uttered; I hastened to accompany him. In a few moments we stopped together on the Terrace des Feuillants, and Gouvion said to me, "Never will I again place my foot in that hall." He returned home, and when I went to him after the sitting, he had already addressed his resignation to the president. "I shall wait here four-and-twenty hours," said he, "for him whom I have denounced as a coward, and to-morrow evening I shall join the army; there I shall doubtless find a glorious termination to all this." I could not persuade him to give up his design, and a few days afterwards the brave Gouvion fell at the outposts of the vanguard of M. de la Fayette, struck by the first shot fired by the enemy.

Couthon considered the conduct of the soldiers of the Château-Vieux only as a subject of praise and a proof of an ardent patriotism, and since the assembly, *in breaking their fetters, had restored them to liberty*, he claimed for them the honors of the sitting. He was supported by Mailhe and Lacroix, and above all by the repeated acclamations of the galleries. It was in vain Robécourt, Daverhoult, and Hua attempted to oppose the motion of Couthon; the discussion was closed; the question of granting the honors of the sitting was put to the vote; the result being doubtful, the names were called over, and a majority of sixteen decided in favor of the soldiers of the Château-Vieux. We were obliged to listen to the declamations of Collot-d'Herbois, which were insulting to the constituent assembly, and to see a motley and numerous train of individuals, of both sexes and of all ages, cross the hall, some armed with pikes ornamented with ribands, others brandishing their sabres; and in short, all the miserable pomp of this shameful ovation.

The situation of the constitutional party after the declaration of war became daily more and more distressing. It was our duty, it was for our honor to concur freely in all the measures which should be proposed for placing France

in a condition to combat with energy; and yet it was our duty to reject measures which, under the pretence of arousing the warlike spirit of the nation, were evidently directed by the factious to the overthrow of the throne. Petitions, inflammatory motions, rapidly succeeded each other. Kersaint, an old officer of the royal navy, on occasion of an affray of little consequence, which took place in the garden of the Tuileries, between some citizens and the king's guard, composed of Swiss and of national guards, was the first who sowed distrust and discord, by a motion, the consequences of which became fatal. After a virulent discourse, he moved that the military committee should present in twenty-four hours a report on the three following questions:—

1. Is it proper that the Swiss guards should do duty about the king's person?

2. Ought the national guard to do any other duty about the king's person, than that of a guard of honor which the law assigns him?

3. Ought the constitutional guard of the king to be employed, in any case, as making a part of the public armed force?

Ordered to be referred to the committee.

Thus our opposition to the anti-constitutional majority and against the ministry devoted to the Girondins was rendered unpopular by the success of the underhand dealing of the Jacobins, and could not be of any further use to the crown; thus the true defenders of liberty had lost all but honor.

Dumouriez was then at the height of his credit with the faction, which had so well served his purpose; he aimed at possessing himself of the direction of public affairs; he courted at the same time the favor of the popular societies and the confidence of the king. His activity, his temerity seduced and misled the most timorous as well as the most ardent minds; and such was his influence over the majority of the members of the assembly, that a grant of six millions was given him for private expenses, without his pointing out its intended purpose, and notwithstanding the prudent suggestions of some of our friends on the scandal and danger of such a concession. We suspected that this money would be employed in exciting risings in Belgium,

if the plan of the campaign, which Dumouriez had meditated and advised, was put into execution.

I shall hereafter have occasion to examine and develope this strange plan, projected so inconsiderately, that it was impossible to recognise in it, the military talents and perspicacity of its author. As this unsuccessful plan served as the basis for the accusation which I thought it my duty to bring against the Girondin minister, just before the catastrophe of the 10th of August, I refer to that time the curious details, which my denunciation contains, and shall now merely trace the principal features and the apparent motives of this pretended plan of invasion. It is well known, as I believe I have already mentioned, that before the declaration of war the formation of three armies had been indicated, but they had not been assembled; that of the north, under the command of marshal de Rochambeau, that of the centre, under general la Fayette; that of the Rhine, under marshal Luckner. It was assumed that the effective force of each of these three armies was to amount, that of Rochambeau to 53,000 men, that of la Fayette to 62,000, and that of Luckner, to almost 48,000—in all 163,000 men. On the 20th of April, from which time the communications might have been interrupted, and at the utmost some hostilities have taken place between the outposts of the respective fortresses, all the French troops, the greater part of which were still in the interior and at a great distance from the line, were dispersed in the garrisons and in some cantonments, but there was no regular organisation of the several armies, no magazines of ammunition, provisions and camp equipage formed on a general plan, even for a defensive system. On the part of the enemy things were in the same state. The two parties could do nothing but observe each other, and mature their preparations for the opening of the campaign. Marshal de Rochambeau, who had before him, on the frontier of Flanders, the principal mass of the Austrian troops, about 25,000 men divided among the fortresses between the sea and the Meuse, advised that troops should at first be assembled in entrenched camps between the fortresses, in such positions as the advantage of their position should point out, and which, being connected with the general system of defence, should render the line of the frontiers impenetrable to the incursions of the enemy. These camps were to be formed,

as soon as provision had been made for the regular subsistence of the troops, for their equipment, and for all their wants. It was not till they had been organised, trained, and especially till discipline had been restored, which was destroyed by the licentiousness and the excitement of the popular societies, that the able and prudent marshal would have opened the campaign and undertaken offensive operations. He required a month for these necessary preparations, and did not think that it would be proper, before taking these precautions, to lead new troops, who had no unity and no experience, against Austrian regiments which were perfectly organised, and had been inured to war in the marches and battles of the late campaigns against the Turks.

The ambitious Dumouriez, eager to justify by prompt and brilliant success the rashness of his political measures, disdained the prudent advice of the Nestor of our armies. Having induced the council to approve, what he called the plan of his campaign for the invasion of Belgium, he dictated to the minister of war, De Grave, the arrangements for this foolish undertaking. Particular instructions were sent directed to each of the generals who were to carry it into execution, and marshal de Rochambeau was made acquainted with them merely by a simple communication; he had not even to make any arrangements, to give any order, for the whole of the operations.

Dumouriez did not doubt but that the Austrians, surprised by the rapidity of our movements, would abandon their position on our frontiers. He thought, too, that the Belgians, who were discontented, would take up arms to join the French. This twofold illusion was cruelly dispelled, and yet notwithstanding the local difficulties, notwithstanding the scantiness of resources, the orders of the minister had been punctually executed; M. de Rochambeau himself, though entirely opposed to this plan, had arranged all the details with very laudable zeal. (Dumouriez's own words.)

The 28th of April, only a week after the declaration of war, was the day fixed for this invasion or general attack of all the line, and on the 1st of May we already knew the disastrous issue of the first operations; we learnt the details successively by the reports of the minister of war, and the communication of the official correspondence

of the generals. It was evident that the Austrian commanders, perfectly informed of the slightest movement of our troops, instead of suffering themselves to be surprised, had taken positions without, and in advance of the posts which were threatened, with forces superior to those, who had been so rashly directed against them. The detachment which left Lisle, under the command of general Theobald Dillon, and which was only to make a demonstration before Tournay, without engaging in any danger, was itself surprised, nearly surrounded, and shamefully put to flight. The arrangements and exertions of the brave Dillon could not restrain his soldiers, who were struck with panic terror. He was abandoned, hurried away, and murdered by the cowards, who cried "treachery!" and who carried back to Lisle confusion, and the infamy of sacrificing the officers and some prisoners of war, who had fallen into their hands. The attack directed against Mons by Biron had no better success. When, after having easily taken possession of Quiévrain, this general advanced towards Mons in good order, he found an Austrian corps of very superior force, in a good position, on eminences defended by redoubts. Perceiving the impossibility of carrying this position, he was preparing to retreat on the following day, when two regiments of dragoons, which formed his left wing, quitted their post and dispersed. Before he could rally them at the distance of more than a league in the rear, all the rest of the line had followed this fatal example. General Biron was not able to restore order among his troops, but by returning to the camp at Quiévrain, which he had left the day before; but the fugitives of his rear-guard, being hotly pursued by a corps of Hulans, again spread confusion in all the ranks. The valor and firmness of Biron and his officers could not stop the torrent; their authority was disregarded, and the camp abandoned to be pillaged by the enemy. The troops entered Valenciennes pell-mell, and the Austrians might have followed them, had not marshal de Rochambeau gone in person with the garrison, and what other troops he could collect, to the heights of Saint Sauve.

In the gigantic and imaginary plan of Dumouriez, the principal attack was reserved for the army of la Fayette; this general's instructions were, to assemble, in the short space of five or six days, his army which was dispersed in

cantonments in the environs of Metz, to traverse a space of more than fifty leagues, to make himself master of the town and citadel of Namur, and seconded by the indubitable insurrection of the Belgians, to proceed with his army along the Meuse, while Biron should enter Brussels to complete the revolution. La Fayette executed his orders with surprising activity; his army was united at Givet on the 28th of April, and his vanguard occupied Bouvines. He was marching towards Namur, and was already in sight of an enemy's corps, which had come to meet him. The cannonade had even begun, when very fortunately he received information of the defeat of Biron's corps. He made his vanguard fall back and concentrated his army before Givet. The national assembly, incensed and alarmed by these unexpected reverses, manifested much calmness and energy. It immediately referred to the military and diplomatic committee, united to the committee of legislation, the proposals of the minister of war, relative to the legislative measures necessary to restore discipline, to inquire into the causes, and to punish the authors of the crimes committed, under these unhappy circumstances. Dumouriez, who was so cruelly disappointed, put a good face upon the matter. As soon as he had collected his official documents, which were required with anxious impatience, he appeared in the assembly on the 4th of May.

Dumouriez took care in his statement not to make the painful confession of his greatest fault; that of having neglected the advice of M. de Rochambeau, and of having reduced the talents of a great general to a passive part. He contented himself with informing the assembly, that the king had thought fit to grant the request of de Rochambeau, by giving him unlimited leave of absence for the rocovery of his health. He added that marshal Luckner was going to take the command of the army in the north, "and that they would soon be able to judge of all the advantages which his activity and superior talents would give us, the advice of this general being for offensive war."

Shocked at the levity and impropriety of this communication, and still more at the blame cast on the illustrious marshal, we demanded that the letter of M. de Rochambeau to the king should be read. The following is an extract:—

"Not to trouble your majesty with the details, I keep

the minutes of the ministerial letters, each more pressing than the preceding, especially of those of the minister for foreign affairs, as well to myself as to general Biron, which will prove that my representations have not been listened to for a moment, and that whatever accounts I have been able to give, stating that I did not see upon this frontier any inclination on the part of the troops to come over to us, nor any emigration, the ministers have thought fit to give credit in preference, to the reports which had been sent them." * * * * *

In the midst of the applauses with which this letter was received, I heard some one utter the following insulting expression:—"*Let him send back his marshal's staff!*" "He has merited it," I explained, "by combating for liberty."

Theodore Lameth said that the retirement of M. de Rochambeau would be a public calamity, the greatest misfortune that could befal the army; but his motion, to send a deputation to the king to beg him not to accept the marshal's resignation, was got rid of by the order of the day, and the memoir of Dumouriez in his own justification, with the documents communicated, was referred to the united committees.

The insubordination and distrust sown in the ranks of the army by the popular societies, manifested themselves every where. The army of La Fayette alone, attached to its general, had retained its discipline. The same agitators, who had lately said to the Jacobins, "all that we should fear is least we should not be betrayed," profited by the impression which the late events had made on the people to urge them to the greatest excesses of popular rage. Beugnot courageously denounced these manœuvres. He brought to the tribune a number of the journal called "the Friend of the People," edited by Marat, and made the assembly tremble with horror by reading the following passage: "I have predicted above six months since that the three generals, all of them alike base servants of the court, will betray the nation and deliver up our frontiers to the enemy; these melancholy presages will soon be realised. My only hope is that the army will at length open its eyes and become sensible that its commanders are the first victims to be sacrificed to the public safety." "Thus, gentlemen," exclaimed Beugnot, "you see that it is under your eyes,

at your very doors, that these projects are developed, that these sanguinary instructions are given to the people. * * * * It is at length time for true patriots to rise, that all audacity should be put to silence or punishment, that every seditious movement, in the city, in the camp, or in the army, should be checked; that every inflammatory writer should be prosecuted. Let us combat the partisans of crime at home; and some reverses abroad will only have turned to the advantage of the constitution."

The speaker moved that the minister of justice should be sent for, and that the public accuser should prosecute the authors and distributors of seditious writings. This proposal, which was strongly seconded, gave rise to a very stormy debate, in which Girardin, defending the abstract principle, maintained that they ought to send before the tribunals, and for trial by jury, not only the paper denounced by Beugnot, but likewise those journals which in an opposite spirit, particularly the *Friend of the King*, edited by Abbé Royou, recommended the revolt of the army and desertion to the enemy. For this time the Jacobins did not dare to brave the feeling of indignation which prevailed in the majority of the assembly; they contented themselves with designating as useless and illegal any other measure than the application of the law. The Girondins, by the mouth of Lasource, who was seconded by Guadet and Larivière, moved that the editors of the *Friend of the People* and of the *Friend of the King* should be prosecuted. The decree was unanimously agreed to.

In the sittings of the 4th and 5th of May, the assembly heard in succession, the reports of the committees, united to examine all the documents relative to the late events, and to propose those legislative measures which the circumstances required. Ramond, in the name of the diplomatic committee, proposed a decree concerning prisoners of war. One of the articles was to the effect, that "the murder of a prisoner should be considered as committed on a French citizen, and punished by the same penalties." This decree, in fourteen articles, which determined the treatment of the prisoners of war, in their several positions, was unanimously adopted.

Lacoste, in the name of the committee of legislation, caused the proposal which had been made by the minister

of war to send commissioners to the armies, to be set aside by the previous question. Lastly, I presented, in the name of the military committee, new measures for the correctional police of the army, and the form of military sentences in the field. The severity of these measures could not fail to meet with vehement opposition from those who, instead of acknowledging their necessity, looked upon discipline but as an instrument of despotism, and thought to attach the soldier to the cause of liberty by exciting him to insubordination.

After saying a few words to expose this fatal error, I read the draft of a decree, which was adopted, and of which I quote here only the first article, the remainder being merely the development of the measures necessary for its execution.

"All offences, whether military or common, committed in the army, by the individuals, who compose it, without distinction of rank, trade, or profession, shall be tried by courts-martial, or by the military correctional police, according to the nature of the offence." This decree has since served as the basis of our penal military legislation.

The repeated efforts of the Jacobins every where to excite new disturbances, and to inflame more and more the popular passions, filled all honest men with indignation, and seemed likely to rouse them from their shameful apathy. This ray of hope supported the energy of the constitutional party; and the election of Muraire, one of our friends, to the president's chair, was a sufficient indication of this commendable spirit. The Girondins were embarrassed, because if, on the one hand, they exercised the power of the executive government by their influence over the ministry, they were obliged, in order to preserve their false popularity, to direct the acts of the government in a spirit quite contrary to the maintenance of the constitution. They were condemned to twofold hypocrisy; the lively interest which they had shown for Dumouriez had cooled since the bad success of his rash enterprise; they began to fear his imperious spirit; they suspected his proceedings, and his address in captivating the king's confidence in concert with his colleagues, Duranthon and Lacoste, who were both sincerely devoted to the king.

The minister of war having retired on account of his bad health, Dumouriez, as has been well observed by M.

Thiere, in his History of the Revolution, "was wrong in declining to take on him this burden." He thought that he should find in the new minister, Servan, recommended by the Girondins, the docility of De Grave, to his suggestions: he wanted penetration. Servan, a systematic man, enthusiastically attached to republican opinions, concealed, under an affectation of austerity and modesty, an ardent and ambitious spirit. He soon freed himself from the yoke of Dumouriez, and being intimately connected with Madame Roland, he joined that portion of the ministry of which she was the soul. From that moment, the harmony of the council was broken. Dumouriez, Lacoste, and Duranthon, on their side, behaved with more reserve in the meetings at Madame Roland's; and in the end they even withdrew from them. The Girondins then became more imperious in their demands, because they were under the necessity of giving new pledges to the faction which pressed upon them; and Roland declared that he would in future do nothing but in concert with his friends. Active hostilities soon succeeded this misunderstanding; the public papers, directed by the Gironde, announced the dissent of the three members of the council from the proposal made by Guadet, in the saloon of Madame Roland, to require the king to dismiss his confessor, a priest who had not taken the oath. The offensive distrust shown by the republican ministers towards the king, and their pretension to make him a passive instrument of their designs, were soon afterwards manifested in the assembly.

The journalist Carra had denounced, in his *Patriotic Annals*, Montmorin and Bertrand de Molleville as the principal members of a pretended Austrian committee, of which the enemies of the court accused the queen of being the chief. These two ex-ministers brought an action against the journalist, and called on him to produce the proofs of the facts which he had stated. The journalist being summoned before Larivière, justice of the peace, declared that three deputies, members of the committee of surveillance, Bazire, Chabot, and Merlin, had assured him, that papers deposited with the committee left no doubt of the existence of this connivance with foreign powers. The justice of the peace dared to issue a summons against the three deputies: he interrogated them, and then appeared before the assembly to demand

that the papers spoken of should be delivered to him, in order that he might prosecute the inquiry. In his statement, he considered the three deputies as not having acted in their legislative capacity, described their assertion as a flagrant offence, leaving entire the right of the assembly to pronounce, whether there were grounds or not for accusing the three members. This act of devotedness and courage, appeared at first not to displease the majority of the assembly; the justice of the peace was admitted to the honors of the sitting, and the reference to the committee of legislation was decreed, in spite of the opposition of the Gironde, which wished that the debate should commence immediately.

The Girondins greedily seized this opportunity to aggravate, to the utmost of their power, the odious suspicions directed against the royal family; they likewise extended them to the constitutional party, and several of our friends, pointed out by name by Carnot the elder, demanded an explanation. Cheron among others defied him to bring any proofs against him, and even to show any foundation for the slightest of those calumnious conjectures. The three inculpated members maintained, as their personal opinion, what they had declared before the justice of peace, and stood on their inviolability in the exercise of their functions as members of the committee of surveillance. Then Guadet, investing himself by oratorical precautions, with a false and perfidious moderation, said, that he would not examine whether the justice of peace, Larivière, was or was not the passive instrument of a powerful faction; and *whether this cause was connected with a greater plot, which it would perhaps be necessary soon to unveil;* but coming to the fact, he blamed the conduct of the justice of peace, and accused him *of having attempted to usurp the power given to the national assembly by the constitution, which alone invested the representatives of the nation with the right of prosecuting plots which might affect the general interest of the state.* Leaving to the committee of legislation the care of examining the first head of these accusations, he insisted more strongly on the infringement of the inviolability of the members of the assembly, as confirmed by the summons issued against three representatives, acting in the exercise of their functions, and con-

cluded by saying that there were no difficulties in this affair, but the enumeration of all other offences of which the justice of peace, Larivière, had been guilty; he proposed therefore an act of accusation against him.

While the friends of Guadet and the galleries, his worthy auxiliaries, loudly applauded, the minister of justice desired permission to speak, in order to make a communication from the government. He stated, in a few words, the motives which had induced the king to order his commissioner in the criminal tribunal of the department, the author of the calumnies which were propagated, in order to give credit to the fable of the Austrian committee, which was supposed to hold its sittings at the Tuileries. His majesty was resolved that *this phantom, with which those ill-intentioned writers had so long endeavored to frighten the people, should at length be dragged out of obscurity, and that the facts should become known.*

The king's letter, which was delivered to the president by the minister Duranthon, was listened to with attention, notwithstanding the murmurs and the cries of *the order of the day.* This letter was in the following terms:

"Mr. President:—I have ordered the minister of justice to acquaint the assembly with the instructions which he has just given from me to the public accuser, respecting the pretended Austrian committee. I think that the national assembly will order the information, which several of its members are said to have upon this subject, to be communicated to the tribunal. It will easily perceive the inconvenience of suffering only that which may cherish suspicion to transpire, and the danger of leaving me in ignorance of the authors.

(Signed) "The King."

Gensonné desired to speak on this letter of the king: several members surrounded the table to sign the demand for a general committee, in which the report of the committee of surveillance should be heard. I opposed this proposition, saying, that the report ought to be made as publicly, as those had been which related to the inculpations, by which unceasing endeavors had hitherto been made to embarrass public affairs, and to excite distrust

against the generals. The assembly adjourned till after the debate on the affair of M. Larivière, which was immediately resumed. D'Haussy Robécourt, relying on the text of the law on the police, justified, by very solid reasoning, the conduct of the justice of peace, which, in his opinion, was very regular, not allowing the representatives of the nation any exemption on account of their inviolability, when they were called upon to fulfil a duty, imposed by the law upon all citizens: he moved that the whole should be referred to the executive power. However, the speaker pointed out in the following terms the legal course that ought to be pursued. "The minister of justice shall take the informations to the court of cassation, and on the account which that tribunal shall have given, he will enforce the decree of accusation if required." Lasource replied, and endeavored to distinguish the case of flagrant offence in a criminal action, from that, the reparation of which could give occasion only to a civil action. He developed this doctrine with much subtlety, and taking advantage of the impression which his reasoning produced on the majority of the assembly, he carried, as far as Guadet, the consequences of the absolute principle of inviolability. He terminated his speech by oratorical flourishes, inspired terror, alarmed for their personal safety those who should hesitate to cause the national assembly to be respected by a great example, and concluded by moving the decree of accusation. The close of the debate was demanded with the most vehement impatience. Ramond could not obtain leave to speak; some others of our friends exclaimed against this injustice. Gentil especially, whose voice was drowned in clamors of *order! to the abbey!* advanced to the middle of the hall. "Well," said he, "send me to the abbey, but hear those who speak for the accused." Vain efforts! The debate was closed, and the decree of impeachment passed against the unfortunate Larivière, who, like Delessart, who was sent before the supreme court of Orleans, was like him transferred to Versailles and murdered.

The accusation of Larivière unveiled the secret of the Machiavelian combination of the republicans of the Gironde. In introducing their friends into the ministry, they had represented them as entertaining the opinion of the majority of the assembly, and the king had accepted them

as an Egis against popular rage, and as the only means left him to restore harmony between the two powers; but the Girondins were neither willing nor able to moderate the Jacobin party, and to suspend its hostilities against the crown. At the same time that they required of the king to yield entirely to their absolute principles, to their demands, they took care not to support the royal authority, but, on the contrary, encouraged all the infractions, all the calumnies, which might render it more and more unpopular. If they succeeded in obtaining the confidence of Louis XVI, they made use of it only to corrupt the monarchical constitution in its very elements, and to degrade it, so as to render the change of government which they meditated necessary. If their fatal influence was repulsed from the council of the king, then they fell back upon the Jacobins, and proceeded, in concert, with them, to the overthrow of the throne; thus a free career was opened to the most audacious enterprises of the faction.

It was not enough to have criminated the just complaints of the ex-ministers Montmorin and Bertrand, it was necessary to strike with terror all the friends of the king, by inculpating these same ministers, who had dared to appear as accusers of the pamphleteers Carra and Marat, who defamed them in the eyes of France. The Girondins were the first to come forward to conduct the attack. In the sitting of 21st of May, Gensonné spoke first upon the king's letter, which he disapproved of as violating the constitution. He maintained "that the king could not, and ought not to have ordered the minister of justice to direct the public accuser in the criminal court of Paris to prosecute and investigate the affair of the Austrian committee, and that the invitation to the national assembly to communicate to that tribunal the information which several members said they possessed on this affair, was at the same time an insult to the legislative body, dangerous to the public safety, and a violation of the constitution: the prosecution and accusation of offences which endangered the safety of the state, being exclusively assigned to the legislative body, and the trial of these offences to the supreme national court."

This doctrine, by which Gensonné deprived the executive power of the means of defending itself by the arms of the law against an odious imputation, served the speaker

as a transition to accuse himself the two ex-ministers as the principal chiefs of the pretended Austrian committee. In the enumeration of the wrongs which he imputed to them, and particularly to M. Montmorin, he adduced only vague suppositions, and his personal opinion on the political conduct of that minister, during the whole time that he was in office. In fine, according to him, the strongest proof which he could bring of the conspiracy of the Austrian committee was, "the combined proceedings of the ministers Bertrand and Montmorin, and of the justice of peace, Larivière, the impudence of their denunciations, and the approbation which they had the atrocious perfidy to solicit of the king." He again brought forward against Bertrand and Molleville the denunciations already presented to the assembly, relative to the affairs of the colonies, which had led to no result, and he demanded a decree of accusation against Montmorin, and an inquiry, with as little delay as possible, into the conduct of Bertrand with respect to the colonies. The propositions of Gensonné prepared the assembly for the celebrated requisition which Brissot delivered immediately afterwards. "I have denounced," said he, "the Austrian committee; I shall prove to you that it has existed, and still exists. I come to call for vengeance on a criminal, to throw light upon his accomplices. * * * * * What is understood by these words, the Austrian committee? A faction of enemies of liberty, who, sometimes governing in the name of the king, whom they deceived, sometimes directing the ministers and surrounding the throne, have incessantly checked our revolution, sacrificed the people to a family, France to Austria, and principles, not to constitutional monarchy, but to royalty and to the nobility. The subjection of this committee to the house of Austria is the principal sign of it. Under this point of view, it is but one branch of the party which has so long commanded France, or which rather is blended with it. This party dates from the fatal treaty of 1756, which is owing to the artifices of prince Kaunitz, and which was extorted from the Machiavelism and the levity of a minister, who could not forgive a great king an epigram against him. Slaves to the same Austrian system, the Montmorins and the Lessarts have been, by turns, only the puppets of which the principal wires were at Vienna." * * * *

After assertions so positively stated in this exordium, we looked in vain for the facts and the proof by which the orator promised to support his denunciation, a lively picture of the intrigues of the court, and of the members of the opposition during the constituent assembly, suppositions of connivance, suspicions converted into reality on bare appearances, general assertions, without precise applications, on which the speaker founded his own conviction; but without stopping, he said, at public notoriety (which certainly was but the echo of the calumnious pamphlets propagated among the people), Brissot pretended to confound M. de Montmorin, and oppose him to himself. He had exhumed from the archives of the foreign office a note, in the handwriting of that ex-minister, addressed to M. de Noailles, the ambassador at Vienna. This note, which he produced as calculated to dispel all doubts on the existence of the Austrian system, and the treachery of M. de Montmorin, was conceived in the following terms:—

"The most intelligent men in the national assembly, those who have hitherto had the most influence, have united, and are concerting with the faithful servants of the king to support the monarchy, and to restore to his majesty the power and authority, which are necessary to enable him to govern. A fortnight will certainly not elapse before the truly afflicting situation in which the royal family is placed will have ceased. The people have fits of passion, and this state of things is violent, but the king will resume his authority in a short time. I shall neither excuse nor censure the powers newly created. The constitution, whether good or bad, must proceed in its course. No hope must be cherished from destroying it. The best citizens in the assembly, and I venture to say without fear of being mistaken, appreciate now the advantages of our alliance with the power of Austria. I believe that it will be easy to draw the bond still closer, immediately after the reinstatement of the king in his authority. And so long as this legislature shall remain, I do not doubt that it will not depart for nothing from the established political system. I am confident, nay, I am certain, that that system would be preferred to all others, which should have for its basis the alliance with the house of Austria."

The very date of this despatch, the 3d of August, 1791, ought to have led to the most favorable explanation of its

intentions; this letter had evidently been written only to acquaint the court of Vienna with the real situation of the king after his return from Varennes, and the success of the efforts of the majority of the members of the constituent assembly, who were equally devoted to liberty and to monarchy, to support both against the republican faction, which had gained so much advantage at the time of the flight of the royal family, that it required at once much vigor and prudence to reinstate the king in his authority, to restore to him all the attributes of the executive power, and to present the new constitution to his free acceptance. M. de Montmorin, therefore, faithfully fulfilled his duties towards his country and his prince, by dispelling the alarms which the court of Vienna might have conceived, and which was a very politic means to divert that court from the hostile measures which so much pains were taken to impel it to adopt.

Far from acknowledging the object and the sincerity of this communication, Brissot, in a long and perfidious commentary, endeavored to pervert the meaning of the plainest and the clearest expression. The happy and necessary *concert* of the influential members of the national assembly with *the servants of the king* to lead in such a crisis to an issue satisfactory to the nation and to the monarch, was represented as an act of treason, as a flagrant proof of the existence of the Austrian committee.

From the gratuitous supposition of culpable proceedings, which, if they had existed, would have been covered by the amnesty, Brissot did not fail to infer, as so many new crimes, all the acts, all the negotiations, by which the government had endeavored to avert the scourge of war; he heaped the blame and the responsibility for them on the head of M. de Montmorin, and concluded with the following words:—"I have proved the existence of the Austrian committee; I have proved that M. de Montmorin acted the principal part in it; I have proved that he had betrayed the interests of France, &c. &c. The penal law is formal in respect to all these crimes. The decree of accusation must be passed, and the greatest light thrown upon the Austrian committee." On this occasion Brissot did not obtain, as on the 10th of March, all the success with which he had flattered himself: both sides of the assembly required that his speech and that of Gensonné

should be printed; and Rouyor, proposing to extend the accusation to the ex-minister Bertrand, and to the minister Duranthon, caused the debate on the Austrian committee to be adjourned.

This debate having been resumed on the 4th of June, Chabot, who at the time of the accusation of Larivière had promised to produce the documents deposited with the committee of surveillance, made a prolix and pompous enumeration of denunciations addressed to that committee, by the popular societies, of private correspondence, of reports of spies, and obscure depositions. All this trash, devoid of authentic proof, fatigued and disgusted the assembly. Chabot contended for more than two hours against the indignation excited by his inflammatory declamations, his vague accusations, and his insults to all the chief officers of the army. When he at length descended from the tribune, Guadet caused all the documents to be referred to the three united committees, except those which related to the generals and the officers of the army. The national assembly consigned them to the contempt which they deserved. In this same sitting the Jacobins were obliged to hear a violent philippic pronounced by Ribes, who, recriminating against the accusations of Brissot and Chabot, denounced at once the faction of Orleans, the English committee, and the Society of the Friends of the Negroes. He perceived, he said, in the manœuvres of all these artisans of disorder, a vast plot, a connivance with foreigners, designs more perverse, dangers more imminent, than those with which attempts were made to frighten us by the phantom of an Austrian committee. He concluded by proposing a decree of accusation against the Duke of Orleans, general Dumouriez, and Pétion, as well as their agents. Aréna applying to the discourse of the preceding speaker from the same motives and in the same terms, the proposal of Guadet, after the report of Chabot, likewise obtained a decree that the opinion of Ribes should be consigned to the contempt which it deserved. Thus terminated this stormy debate, which was too faithful a picture of the deplorable situation of France.

These reiterated attacks, always covered with a false zeal for the safety of the country, increased the irritation of the multitude, misled by the system of deception; and the warmth of our defence served but to render the con-

stitutional party unpopular. The troubles which the popular societies had excited by their persecutions, became so many pretexts to authorise new persecutions in the name of the law. It was thus that the proposal was introduced for the famous decree of transportation against the priests who had not taken the oath. The enemies of the new order of things had certainly not failed to put in action the powerful engine of fanaticism, and the repugnance of the king to sanction the decree of the 29th of November 1791, had but too much encouraged the dissident priests. But nothing was more impolitic than to decree arbitrary measures against them, and to do violence to their consciences. The debate on this iniquitous and barbarous act was principally supported by the Girondins, and it was easy to perceive the design formed beforehand by them, in concert with the three ministers their friends, again to embarrass the king, and to lay to his charge all the disorders which would necessarily follow a second veto.

The promoters of this decree audaciously violated the constitution, and the principle of the division of power by giving to the administrative bodies the attributes of the judicial order, and authorising them to pronounce the penalty of transportation out of the kingdom, on the bare denunciation of twenty active citizens. All the opposition we could make to this monstrous legislation, the development of its fatal consequences, the reminiscences of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, all was useless; the decree passed.

Emboldened by success, the Jacobins every day offered a new bait to the credulity of the people; they made a great noise about the denunciation of the municipality of Sévres, who informed the assembly of the burning of thirty bales of papers, clandestinely performed in the ovens of the porcelain manufactory, by order of the intendant of the civil list. It was nothing less, they said, than the archives of the Austrian committee which had been annihilated. M. de la Porte, being summoned to the bar, and interrogated by the president, answered that the thirty bales which the king had ordered to be burnt, contained the whole edition of the Memoirs of Madame de Lamothe, so well known from the affair of the necklace. The king had caused this whole edition to be bought up and de-

stroyed, in order to withdraw from public malignity a new subject of scandal. This unimportant incident gave rise to more serious events. The supposition of a plot, formed to dissolve the legislative assembly, of white cockades put on by the Swiss guards in barracks at Courbevois, some seditious language held by officers and subalterns of the king's guard, exasperated the members, and envenomed the debates.

By a fatal imitation of the proceedings of the constituent assembly, at the time of the departure of the royal family at Varennes, the younger Carnot proposed, that the assembly should declare its sittings permanent, in order, he said, to throw light on the projects of the conspirators, and to attend at the same time to the making of the laws. This proposal was received with enthusiasm, and the assembly decreed that the mayor of Paris should come every morning to give an account to the assembly of the state of the capital, that the posts should be doubled, &c. &c. The very same evening, May 29, 1792, the assembly declared itself permanent.

The signal of alarm being thus given, the public mind prejudiced by the imminence of a great danger, the contrivers of this intrigue hastened to strike the blow which they had long meditated, namely, the disbanding of the king's guard.

A report of Pétion, decidedly drawn up to give credit to rumors which were spread of a royalist conspiracy, recommended to the assembly energetic measures, which the mayor of Paris promised to second. This discourse, remarkable for the vagueness of the expressions, and the perfidy of its insinuations, was applauded by the galleries, and served as an introduction to the accusation brought by Bazire in the name of the committee of surveillance. This reporter showed first of all, that the conditions required by the law for admission into the king's guard had not been fulfilled; that it contained a great number of individuals who had not taken the civic oath; that the soldiers furnished by the national guards of the departments, in the proportion of two-thirds, had been ill received, filled with disgust, and for the most part compelled to retire; that they had been succeeded by individuals who were rendered suspicious by their conduct, their preceding services, and the professions from which they had

been taken; that the third of the guards, furnished by the troops of the line, had been chosen in a spirit entirely contrary to the intention of the constitution; lastly, that the officers of the king's guard labored, by all sorts of means, to extinguish patriotism, by tolerating relaxation of discipline, the most seditious language and actions, and that they had by their vicious incorporations augmented the numerical force of that corps far beyond the fixed number. Unfortunately these reproaches were not without some foundation. An inconsiderate zeal, and the desire to ensure absolute devotedness and blind obedience to the king's person, had but too often furnished pretexts to malevolence.

Bazire, however, brought no other proofs of the various grievances on which he founded his accusation, than the denunciations, most of them anonymous, accumulated in the bureau of the committee, and from this mass of facts not verified, and without touching on the question of right, he proposed to disband the king's guard. His motion was violently supported. Carnot the younger, modifying his conclusions, proposed to suspend by decree the service of the king's guard, and to send to his majesty a deputation of sixty members, to acquaint him with the motives of the measure. I was the first to oppose this motion, and not dissembling to myself the danger of the violation to which the assembly was indubitably going to be misled, I endeavored to conjure the storm. "The article of the constitution," I exclaimed, "which gives to the king the composition of his guard, which supposes that this guard will always be subject to the nomination, and the orders of the king, does not permit you either to disband or suspend it."

The debate became very warm. The Girondins supported all the proposals of the committee. Lacroix further proposed to decree an act of accusation against the superior officers of the king's guard. The members of the centre, who pretended to be independent, appeared to be terrified at so much boldness, and demanded that no more should be done, than to dismiss all those individuals who should not have complied with the conditions of the law. The most violent motions were supported by loud applauses, and our replies were received with insulting murmurs. The recall of the galleries to order, frequently

pronounced by the president, no longer excited any thing but hisses. Ramond rose to speak, and treated at length on the question of right. He admitted, as indications and initiatory proofs, what had been stated of the illegal admission of a certain number of individuals into the king's guard; but he strongly opposed, as an abuse and an excess of legislative power, the disbanding of the whole corps, when only a small number had incurred that penalty, by a surreptitious introduction into it. He then demonstrated that this unconstitutional act, violating the principle of division of powers, would cause inextricable confusion in the exercise of their respective attributes, and ended by seconding the proposals which I had made.

Guadet rushed to the tribune, and had scarcely pronounced the first words of his speech, when one of our party, Frondières, formerly an advocate in the parliament of Rouen, who had not yet spoken since the commencement of the session, rose and said in a very loud voice, "I beg M. Guadet to have the goodness to answer like a logician, and not like a declaimer." This unexpected interruption roused the whole party. The hall resounded with cries of "order!" "to the abbey!" Guadet left the tribune, to which his friends immediately pushed forward. It was not till after a long tumult, and with the greatest difficulty, that Frondières obtained permission to explain himself.

"What is the fault imputed to me? M. Guadet was in the tribune; I said to him, "speak like a logician, and not like a declaimer." Is it an offence for which I should be called to order, to have said to a member of this assembly, do not waste your time in useless declamations, be a logician, instruct the assembly, present to it much information in a few words! This is what I said to M. Guadet, and it is thus that you ought to be spoken to." Turning towards the left, he exclaimed, "It is thus that we shall speak to you in future; the art of oratory is a noble talent, so is that of deceiving the people."

Here the rage and exclamations redoubled. Frondières resumed: "I ask for myself strict justice; I wish it were done to every body, but unhappily that is not the case. I say to M. Guadet: for these six months I have heard you; for these six months I have studied you, and those who are like you; for these six months I have seen the agita-

tion of the people, and hence I judge of the effects of your eloquence."

Frondières was going to continue, but the assembly being consulted in the midst of the uproar, decided that he should not be heard any further, and that he should go immediately to the abbey.

After this incident, rendered so remarkable by the courage of Frondières, and by the vexation manifested by those whom his energetic address had unmasked, the debate resumed its course. Guadet endeavored to reply to us like a logician, and assuming as true and proved the facts denounced by Bazire, he maintained the sophism advanced by Lacroix, that the national assembly had a right to do every thing that the constitution did not prohibit; that the proposed decree being only the exercise of a right given by the constitution, the disbanding of the king's guard was an act merely legislative, and therefore it was demonstrated that the assembly had the right to decree it. Girardin replied in an animated discourse to the reasonings of Guadet. He agreed in the first place that the two extreme parties, the counter-revolutionists and the Jacobins labored with equal ardor to overthrow the established order of things, and threatened the country with great danger.

The deductions of Girardin were the same as mine and those of Ramond, and they had no better success. However, the debate was continued till late at night with equal warmth on both sides. At length Vergniaud, profiting, with perfidious address, of the impatience and fatigue of the assembly, and desiring to catch the undecided votes of the independent members, pretended in an eloquent exordium to see in the proposal to disband the king's guard, only the cause and the interest of the king himself.

"Whenever people conspire," said he, "at Paris as at Coblentz, they use the name of the king; in fact, gentlemen, what is the name which is continually invoked, or rather which is constantly profaned in the secret manœuvres which are employed to disturb public tranquillity, to spread alarm? It is the name of the king. What is the name that is invoked, after having spoken with contempt of the constitution, when they have satiated their hatred of liberty and the laws? It is the name of the

king. What is the sentiment of love which they affect to put in opposition? It is love for the king. In a word, when they conspire against the constitution, what is the name that they appeal to, under the pretext of desiring to restore tranquillity and to put an end to disorder? Again, it is the name of the king—it is the king's authority that they would maintain—it is the enemies of the royal authority that they would have punished."

Coming to the main point, Vergniaud endeavored to justify the illegality of the measure by a new subtlety. He affirmed that the king's guard was no part of the armed force, which, he said, was composed only of the army of the line, and of the national guard; but that since, it was an armed body in the state, and its existence could not be independent, it was necessary to remedy this disorder, to disband the guard, and re-constitute it conformably to the law. To do this, the concurrence of the two powers was required, that is to say, a decree of the legislative body and the sanction of the king; in consequence, he proposed immediately to pass the decree for disbanding the guard.

Ramond desired to speak, to state the real constitutional principles, which Vergniaud had misrepresented, but the assembly decreed that Ramond should not be heard. The debate was closed, and the assembly adopted the following decree, which was drawn up by Guadet:—

"The king's present guard is disbanded; it shall be re-constituted without delay, conformably to the law.

"The duty which the king's constitutional guard has hitherto done shall be suspended, and the duty shall be performed by the national guard till the new organisation shall be completed."

While the galleries applauded with ferocious joy, Merlin de Thionville proposed as a necessary consequence of the disbanding of the guard that an accusation should be brought against M. de Brissac, the commander. The debate commenced immediately.

Becquey in vain demonstrated that it was absurd and barbarous to pass a decree of accusation, on vague presumptions, on anonymous information, and recrimination of expelled soldiers, without having before them any authentic proof of the alleged facts. He called for the previous question; Chabot answered weakly in the name

of the committee, and was unable to give any explanation respecting the validity of the documents announced by Bazire, or any other guarantee, than the opinion of the committee itself. A just indignation manifested itself on the right side of the assembly; the brave Calvet, formerly a garde-du-corps, could not restrain himself, and let fall some offensive expressions. Being called to order and threatened with the same treatment which Frondières had just experienced, he explained himself in the following words:—

"This morning some papers were read to us, upon which it is proposed to send M. Brissac to Orleans, and I declare that I did not hear the name of a citizen; I always heard M.——— in blank." Notwithstanding the furious interruptions and cries of "to the abbey!" repeated by the galleries, Calvet continued: "I know, gentlemen, that there is a great difference between the act of one who honorably denounces a public delinquent, and that of a common informer. The first is a virtue, the second a crime; the one is a man who sacrifices to his country, all his private affections, all his interests; the other is a villain who stabs in the dark, and does not show himself. I say the man who goes to the committee of surveillance and says, I denounce M. Montmorin and I sign my denunciation, is like Cato denouncing Cataline to the senate; the informer, on the contrary, reminds us of the times of Tiberius and Sejanus, times of which you often remind me. Gentlemen, allow me to say so; I ask your pardon, but I cannot help speaking my opinion."

Guadet, declaring that he denounced his colleague, and indignant that he had dared to say that the representatives of the French people reminded him of the times of Sejanus and Tiberius, demanded that he should be sent to the abbey. I hastened to ascend the tribune to defend my friend Calvet, but my voice was drowned in murmurs, and declamations. "M. Dumas would persuade us that we are like Tiberius and Sejanus." Calvet was sent to the abbey for three days, and the confusion was not allayed till the assembly, on the motion of Quinette, had decreed the accusation of the unfortunate Brissac.

The ardor with which the Girondins had lent their support to the Jacobin party, to strike so severe a blow at the royal prerogative, was in our eyes an evident sign of the

want of union which prevailed in the king's council, of which they had expected to dispose, according to their own views, by introducing their friends into it. Their plan to modify the constitution, if in fact such a plan existed, has never been well known. At all events the entrance of Dumouriez into the ministry must necessarily break the thread of the intrigue. A man of such a character, when once he had obtained the exercise of power, was incapable of making his ambitious and daring spirit bend, to be the passive instrument of a party, who had no other means of action and influence than popular movements, which he did not direct. The dissensions of the council, the incompatibility of Dumouriez with Roland, Servan, and Clavières, speedily showed itself in the cabinet, and in the assembly: in the cabinet, by the opposition of Dumouriez, who was supported by Lacoste and Duranthon, to the measures proposed by his three colleagues; in the assembly, by the minister of war, Servan, presenting, in the sitting of the 4th of June, the draft of a decree, which, notwithstanding its importance, had not been communicated nor discussed in the king's council. This project was nothing less than the assembly of 50,000 federalists, who, after having assembled in the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July, should encamp at the gates of Paris, to secure the tranquillity of the capital, and take the place of the national guard in its duty either about the king or the assembly.

The faction which domineered in the assembly, and to which so large a share of the executive power had been given, now proceeded openly. The three Girondin ministers believing that the propitious moment was come to strike a decisive blow, caused one of them, Roland, to address to the king a confidential letter, which had been drawn up by Madame Roland, and having been read by her husband in the council in the king's presence, (though that minister had promised to keep it secret between himself and his majesty,) became a sort of manifesto, and accelerated the inevitable crisis. I do not insert a document so well known, and which the historians of all parties have in turn transcribed or quoted.

An exposition, which was but too true, of the situation of France, an eloquent and lively picture of the misfortunes with which the country was threatened, a very sin-

cere historical recapitulation of the causes and the consequences of the first revolution, served as a preamble to the counsels given to the king, on the indispensable sanction of the decree relative to the transportation of the priests who had not taken the oath, and that for the camp of 20,000 men, which had just been adopted by the assembly in the sitting of the 6th of June. These counsels were a real summons to the king to submit to the law of necessity. The expressions were tinged with republican harshness and pride; the most direct threats, the most fatal prognostics were not spared in this address to the unhappy Louis. "It is no longer time," said Roland, "to retreat; there is not even any means of temporising; the revolution is made in the public mind; it will be completed by bloodshed, and will be cemented by it, unless wisdom anticipates the evils which it is still possible to avoid."

Dumouriez, who had already in full council reproached Servan with having failed in his duty by proposing the camp of the Federalists in the assembly, without the knowledge of the king and his council, hastened to make the king dismiss Roland, Servan, and Clavières. These three ministers were dismissed, and succeeded in the department of the interior by Mourgues, of finance by Beaulieu, and of war by Dumouriez himself, who combined this department with that of foreign affairs.

To take on himself such a burden, and to support the rashness of a resolution, which could not fail to render him unpopular, Dumouriez, seconded by the queen, required that Louis XVI should sanction the decrees relative to the priests and to the camp near Paris. He said that he could not serve the king, and make head against his enemies, except by depriving them of the arms, which they employed to destroy his popularity. Persuaded by Dumouriez that the state of war would furnish pretexts enough to remove from Paris the camp of 20,000 men, and neutralise the effect which the revolutionists expected from it, the king promised to sanction this decree, but his repugnance to that for the transportation of the priests was invincible.

The national assembly was officially informed by a letter from the king of the change of the ministry. This communication created indecent murmurs, which we endeavored to repress. Each of the three dismissed ministers

had written to the assembly, and Roland had added to his letter a copy of that which he had read in the king's council. This was a new violation of the secrecy which the ex-minister had taken on himself, and which, after his retreat, decorum made a still more imperative duty. The reading of this document produced the result which the Girondins expected from it; their manifesto was hailed with the applauses of the galleries, and entirely restored to them the favor of the Jacobins. These several letters were ordered to be printed, and copies sent to the eighty-three departments. The assembly declared immediately afterwards, that the three retiring ministers took with them the confidence of the nation.

During the reading of Roland's famous letter, Dumouriez appeared in the assembly; the choice of the moment, his confident looks, struck the assembly with astonishment. He announced, in the first place, in an elevated, and even an imperious tone of voice, that the importance of the memoir which he was going to read, demanded the most serious attention of the assembly. "The ministers," added he, "to merit the confidence of the nation must be purely statesmen and repel all party spirit. * * * You yourselves, gentlemen, should lay aside all your affections and all human passions. The ministers are citizens like yourselves."

Guadet interrupted him hastily. "After having procured the discharge of the patriotic ministers, does M. Dumouriez think himself already authorised to lecture the assembly?" * * * * * * *

Dumouriez continued: "They (the ministers) deserve the same regard as you; they have their responsibility in addition. The greatness of the danger allows of no suspicion, for it is to these suspicions, and to the perpetual agitation which they occasion, that we may ascribe the disastrous situation from which our union will enable us to deliver ourselves with glory."

The reading of the memoir on the state of the war department was listened to in profound silence.

Dumouriez declared that the generals complained with reason of the weakness, bad state, and want of discipline of their armies. He demonstrated the delusion of the modes of recruiting, successively decreed by the assembly and their insufficiency to fill up a void of 40,000 men.

He affirmed that the fortresses were in the most deplorable state, and, as he said, almost dismantled; he accused the ministers, his predecessors, of culpable negligence; he unveiled, without reserve, the disorders and abuses of the administration, and the incapacity of the agents, both abroad and at home. Deprecating, as a false calculation the system of economy, in the face of such great dangers, he cast the blame of it on the assembly. In the rest of the memoir, Dumouriez pointed out the measure which he intended to take, to remedy this deplorable state of things, and the rigor with which he would restore subordination from the general to the private. He concluded by giving some severe admonitions. "The assembly," said he, "should encourage the ministers whom public confidence designated as fitted for their places. Denunciations, indecent attacks, can but disgust a man of honor, if they do not discourage him, and at the same time they implicate the assembly, which loses valuable time in listening to them. All the factions ought now to be silent before the danger of the country."

Dumouriez manifested much resolution on this occasion; he signed his memoir, laid it on the bureau, and withdrew.

The darkened picture of our military situation, which was true in many respects, but exaggerated with a view to enhance his own importance, and make himself indispensable, irritated the majority of the assembly. Some assertions, especially that of the decay of the fortresses, were bitterly censured. Lacuée reproached the minister with having provoked the war, and plunged France into it, when he believed that the country was not in a condition to carry it on. After an animated and useless debate, it was resolved that a special committee should be appointed, to verify the documents and facts contained in the memoir.

I have said above that Dumouriez, after having procured the dismissal of the three Girondin ministers, had yielded to the earnest request of the king, and taken on himself the war department, only in the hope of obtaining from his majesty the sanction of the decree relative to the transportation of the priests, which hope was founded on the opinion entertained by the queen, of the necessity of this new concession. It was to raise the royal authority,

and to confirm himself in the confidence of the monarch that he had shown himself so haughty and so peremptory in his first communication to the assembly, as minister of War. He had calculated, that if he could on the next day bring the sanction of the decree, it would be easy for him to regain the popularity which he had lost by his secession from the party of the Gironde. He well knew how specious the force of this party was; he had preserved an understanding with the Jacobins, and knew that the latter bore impatiently the sway of the Girondins, and the pretension to excite or to moderate at their pleasure the popular movements. Dumouriez thought then, that after having succeeded on the capital point, where the ministers of the Gironde had failed, he should regain the favor and the confidence of the Jacobins, and by thus breaking the union between the two factions, he should neutralise the crisis. On this supposition he flattered himself, perhaps with reason, that he should gain the independent party; as for the purely constitutional party, he made little account of that. He had alienated it at the very outset by putting on the red cap, in the Jacobin club, and by his intrigues with a view to implicate and ruin General La Fayette. However, he could not doubt, that his efforts to support the royal authority would be seconded on our part with the most disinterested zeal.

The hope of the presumptuous minister was speedily deceived, and his political combinations had no better success than his plan for the invasion of Belgium. The religious scruples of Louis XVI were not to be overcome; he refused to concur in the iniquitous act of the transportation of the priests. Dumouriez then tendered his resignation: it was accepted. In notifying it to the assembly on the 19th of June, Dumouriez announced that the king had authorised him to go and serve as lieutenant-general in the army of Marshal Luckner.

In the preceding sitting, Louis XVI had given notice of the nomination of his new ministry. He had chosen it among the men known for their attachment to the constitution, and who certainly gave a great proof of devotedness, by accepting these delicate functions in such difficult circumstances. On the following day the king informed the assembly through the minister of justice, Duranthon, that he had affixed his veto, not only to the decree relative

to the transportation of the priests, but likwise to that of the camp of 20,000 men.

These last events had, however, increased the fermentation. The explosion was imminent, and the perplexity of Louis XVI extreme. Isolated in the midst of the factions, deprived of his guard, too certain that all the authorities were corrupted, and that all around him that was called an armed force was disorganised; lastly, seeing the majority of the legislative assembly conspired against the constitution, that last support of the throne which he was summoned to defend, while the means of doing so were taken from him, the unhappy prince abandoned himself to his destiny, and opposed to his enemies only the courage of resignation. It has been written that from this moment he had wished and secretly invited the aid of foreign armies, but no authentic proofs have ever been given of such a fact. We cannot admit as such the declarations, made in memoirs, which merit but little confidence; for instance those of Bertrand de Molleville, of Madame Campan, and some others. The conjectures, the opinions pronounced at a venture by party men, words dropped in private conversations, are not historical proofs; and I here declare that after all that I have personally observed, and after all the accounts that I have received from well-informed persons, I am convinced that neither Louis XVI nor the queen ever conceived the criminal design of the extravagant hope of re-establishing the royal authority by foreign aid.

In the midst of this complication of interests and intrigues, foreseeing that our efforts would soon be unavailing to check the revolutionary torrent, and desiring to raise the courage of those who might still second us, we sought out of Paris, and principally in the army, the support which we began to despair of finding in the capital. Some members of the constitutional party, and I was of the number, opened a correspondence with general Lafayette.

Before perishing in the common shipwreck, it was proper to endeavor to unite and to arm the true friends of liberty against a new and insupportable tyranny. We plotted, therefore, for the safety of our country, for the maintenance of our laws, for the inviolability of the crown. Lafayette was the first who offered himself to perform this duty, which was more especially incumbent upon

him, both on account of his actual position and of all that he had already done for the constitutional cause. On the 16th of June, 1792, he sent from his camp at Maubeuge a letter addressed to the president of the legislative assembly. This letter arrived on the 18th. The reading of it was listened to with the most profound silence. This document must be considered as one of the most valuable that we possess, because it characterises better than any other the true situation of France at that period. There is not an expression in it, which does not bear the stamp of truth, and it is because I find in it the entire justification of the conscientious opinions which I have expressed in these memoirs, that I have thought proper to transcribe at length this letter, which contemporary historians have, for the most part, only mentioned or analysed in too succinct a manner.

"Gentlemen, at the moment, perhaps too long deferred, when I was going to call your attention to great public interest, and to indicate among our dangers the conduct of the minister whom my correspondence has long since accused, I learn that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for undoubtedly it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, subject by their insignificance to his power, that the least excusable, and the most noted of these ministers, will have cemented in the council of the king its equivocal and scandalous existence. Nevertheless, it is not sufficient that this branch of the government should be delivered from a fatal influence. The public interest is in danger. The force of France rests principally upon its representatives, and it is from them that the nation expects its safety. But when it gave itself a constitution, it has prescribed to them a course by which they may save it.

"Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituent assembly, so a constitution becomes a law of the legislators whom it has established, it is to yourselves that it is my duty to denounce the too powerful efforts which are made to divert you from the line which you have promised to follow. Nothing shall hinder me from exercising this right of a free man, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen, neither the momentary aberrations of opinion, (for what are opinions, which deviate from principles?) nor my respect for the representa-

tives of the people, (for I respect still more the people themselves, whose supreme wish the constitution expresses,) nor the kindness which you have constantly shown to me, for I desire to preserve as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

"The circumstances in which you are placed are difficult. France is threatened abroad and agitated at home. While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, internal enemies, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain a chimerical hope, and still weary us with their insolent malevolence.

"You must repress them, gentlemen, and you will not have the power to do so unless you are constitutional and just. You desire doubtless to be so, but cast your eyes upon what is passing in your own assembly and around you.

"Can you dissemble from yourselves that a faction, and, to avoid all vague denomination, that the Jacobin faction, has caused all these disorders? It is that which I openly accuse; organised like a distinct empire in the capital, and in its affiliated societies, directed by some ambitious leaders, this sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps by subjugating its representatives.

"It is there that, in the public sittings, love of the laws is called aristocracy, and the violation of them patriotism. There, the assassins of Desilles obtain triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan receive panegyrics; there, the narration of the assassination which has disgraced the town of Metz, still excites infernal acclamations. Are such reproaches to be got rid of by boasting of an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are mentioned? Have they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced their names? And because we ought to combat foreigners who interfere in our quarrels, are we dispensed from delivering our country from domestic tyranny? What has this duty to do, with the projects of foreigners, their connivance with the counter-revolutionists, and their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I, who denounce this sect to you; I, who, without speaking of my past life, can give an answer to all those who should feign to suspect me: Approach at this critical moment, when the character of each is going

to be known, and let us see which of us, more inflexible in his principles, more firm in his resistance, will best brave those obstacles and those dangers, which traitors hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to estimate and to defy for her sake. And how could I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of the agitators imposes silence on the peaceable citizens, sets aside useful men, and when sectarian devotedness takes the place of the public and private virtues, which, in a free country, ought to be the austere and only means of attaining the first offices of the government?

"It is after having opposed, to all obstacles, to all snares, the courage and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its commander, that I can now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a minister, the worthy production of his closet; a correspondence, in which all the calculations are false, the promises vain, the information deceitful or frivolous, the counsels perfidious or contradictory; in which, after I had been urged to advance without precaution, to attack without means, my indignation was roused by the base assertion that resistance would soon become impossible.

"How remarkable, gentlemen, is the conformity of the language of the factions whom aristocracy avows, and that of those who usurp the name of patriots! All wish to overturn our laws, all rejoice in the troubles, oppose the authorities which the people have conferred, detest the national guard, preach revolt to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, and sometimes discouragement.

"As for me, gentlemen, who espoused the cause of American independence at the very moment when the ambassadors declared to me that it was hopeless; who from that time devoted myself to a persevering defence of the liberty and sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting a declaration of rights to my country, dared to say, '*for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that it resolves to be so;*' I now come full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully it; I come to declare that the French nation, if it be not the vilest in the universe, can

and ought to resist the conspiracy of the kings combined against it.

"It is doubtless not in the midst of my brave army that ignoble sentiments are entertained. Patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, every civil and military virtue, I find united there." (*Loud applauses from a great part of the assembly.*) "There the principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property held sacred; there neither calumnies nor factions are known: and when I recollect that France has many millions of men who may become soldiers resembling these, I ask to what degree of debasement would an immense people be reduced, (stronger by its natural resources than by its artificial defences, and opposing to a monstrous confederation the advantage of unique combinations,) should the base idea of sacrificing its sovereignty, of bartering its liberty, of negotiating about the declaration of its rights, ever appear as one of the possible contingencies of the future, to which we are rapidly approaching.

"But in order that we, the soldiers of liberty, may be able to combat with success, or die with advantage for it, the number of the defenders of the country must be speedily increased, in proportion to that of its adversaries; supplies of all kinds must be multiplied to facilitate our movements; the well-being of the troops, their equipments, their pay, the care of their health must no longer be subject to fatal delays or to pretended economy, which lead to results directly contrary to what it intended.

"Above all it is necessary that the citizens who have rallied round the constitution should be assured, that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, such as will excite the despair of all its secret or open enemies.

"Do not repulse this wish: it is that of the sincere friends of your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequences can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measure can serve a cause which owes its strength and its glory to the bases of liberty and equality, you must provide that criminal justice resumes its constitutional course, and that civil equality and liberty enjoy the complete application of true principles.

"Let the royal power be inviolate, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; let it be independent, for this inde-

pendence is one of the stays of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is invested with the majesty of the nation; let him be able to choose a ministry which wears the chains of no faction; and if there are conspirators, let them not perish but under the sword of the law.

"Lastly, let the reign of the clubs, annihilated by you, give way to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganising maxims, to the principles of liberty; their insensate fury, to the calm and constant courage of a nation which knows its rights and defends them; lastly, their sectarian combinations, to the real interests of the country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those who do not see in its subjugation and its ruin, objects of atrocious enjoyment and an infamous speculation.

"Such, gentlemen, are the remonstrances and the petitions submitted to the assembly, as they have already been to the king, by a citizen whose love for liberty cannot be, consistently with truth, disputed; a citizen whom all the factions would hate less, if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness, who would rather have remained silent, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national assembly, and to the confidence which it ought to enjoy, and who in short could give no better proof of that which he himself has in you than by thus exhibiting the truth without disguise.

"Gentlemen! I have obeyed the voice of my conscience and my duty. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and above all to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to delay the observations which I conceive to be useful, and who take pleasure in believing that the national assembly will consider it as a new testimony of my devotedness to its constitutional authority, and of my personal gratitude and respect.

(Signed) "LAFAYETTE."

This letter was warmly applauded by our side and by a part of the centre; the rest of the assembly and the galleries did not venture to give the slightest token of disapprobation. We immediately moved that it should be printed and sent to all the departments; murmurs arose, but the question of printing was put to the vote and carried. The transmission to the departments was of greater

importance, and the speakers of the Gironde having recovered from their astonishment, opposed it. Vergniaud, pretending to do justice to the purity of the intentions of general Lafayette, said that the assembly ought not to receive communications from the general of an army, except through the ministry, and that the counsels of such a general were laws: he therefore moved the order of the day. Thevenet, one of our party, opposing the motion of Vergniaud, said that the counsels of which he complained were truths, and that such a man as Lafayette was wanted to declare them to the assembly. Here Guadet, desiring to speak, in order to declare a fact, called in question the authenticity of the letter, remarking an apparent contradiction between the date and the fact of the resignation of Dumouriez, which, he said, could not be known to general Lafayette on the 16th of June. I rose to affirm and certify that the signature was certainly that of general Lafayette; but Guadet replied, "it is impossible that general Lafayette can be the author of the letter which has just been read. General Lafayette knows that when Cromwell dared to use similar language———." Unable to restrain myself, I again interrupted the speaker, and desired leave to reply to him. The tumult became general. Guadet repeated his insulting comparison. I said, "M. de Lafayette is not ignorant that when Cromwell held similar language, liberty was extinct in England; now I shall never be persuaded that the rival of Washington wishes to imitate the Protector of Great Britain." Guadet concluded by moving the adjournment. The younger Carnot, who sat in the centre, saw that the only means to restore calmness in the assembly, was to refer the letter to a committee. Daverhoult also desired to speak on a fact; he repudiated as false the calumnious assertion of Guadet, and proved that general Lafayette must have foreseen the resignation of Dumouriez *from the dislike which that minister had experienced on the part of his creatures.* The debate was closed, and the reference of the letter to a committee put to the vote.

The circumstance was decisive: with the support of the pretended independents, we should have obtained the transmission of the letter to the departments, and the chief object of our proceeding would have been attained; but as had happened on other occasions of less impor-

tance, this support was not given us, and the reference to a committee was voted.

Never, however, had the faction been so vigorously attacked, and never had the terror with which it struck the centre of the assembly been more useful to it; accordingly it did not delay to resume the offensive, by attacking in its turn, and more directly the royal authority, which we desired to shelter from its fury.

On the 20th of June the members of the directory of the department repaired to the bar of the assembly. Rœderer, the procurator-syndic, speaking for the members, informed us that an unusual assemblage of people, many of whom were armed, had collected in the suburbs, with the design of presenting an address to the king. The directory acquainted the assembly, that the decree of the commune, supported by that of the department, had not been able to prevent this tumultuous assemblage, and that the minister of the interior had required that troops should be sent *to defend the palace of the Tuileries*. Lastly, the procurator-syndic warned us that this mob would very probably present itself to the assembly; that the law not only prohibited all meetings of armed men without a previous requisition, and even every unarmed assemblage, without the permission of the municipality; but that it likewise forbade a deputation of more than twenty citizens to carry and present petitions. The directory relied on our prudence to ensure on this critical occasion the execution of the law, which was the only guarantee of the responsibility of the constituted authorities.

But these laws were already violated; the authorities had declared their inability to act; the assemblage was at our doors.

Vergniaud, approving the zeal of the directory of the department, proposed, however, to allow this multitude to defile before the assembly, alleging the example given by the constituent assembly, since imitated on the 9th of April by the legislative assembly in favor of the Swiss of Chateau Vieux, and subsequently for the armed sections. Acknowledging the serious nature of the circumstances and the misfortunes that might result from them, he proposed that a deputation of sixty members should repair to the king till the multitude was dispersed. Du-

molard seconded this last part of Vergniaud's motion, but firmly objected to the proposal to admit armed men, and allow them to march before the assembly. While Ramond energetically refuted the opinion of Vergniaud, and showed that the citizens having been warned of their violation of the law, we could not admit them without becoming their accomplices, a note from the commander of the guard informed the president, that the assemblage, consisting of 8000 armed men, insisted on being admitted. "Since they are 8000," exclaimed Calvet, "and we are only 745, I propose that we break up the sitting and withdraw." Calvet was called to order. "If 8000 men," replied Ramond, "are waiting at the bar for your decision, twenty-five millions of men are likewise looking for it; I, therefore, abide by my opinion." But, urged by the impatience of the protectors of the riot, he proposed sending the deputation of sixty members to the king, and required that the citizens who were ready to appear at the bar, should lay down their arms at the door. Guadet opposed this last proposal and like his friends, advocated this manifest infringement of the law, on the ground of the lamentable examples of preceding violations of it. My friends and myself required that the motion of Ramond should be put to the vote. "This" said I, "is the decisive moment when we should do our duty." The debate was immediately closed. The irruption of the petitioners, who all on a sudden rushed to the bar amid the loud applauses of the galleries, threw the assembly into the greatest confusion. We all rose spontaneously, and demanded that the petitioners should retire, to await the decision of the assembly. As soon as they had withdrawn, the president declared that it was owing to an error, excusable amidst such confusion, that they had been suffered to penetrate so suddenly into the hall. Their admission was then put to the vote and agreed to.

The petitioners having been introduced, their spokesman delivered an inflammatory discourse, full of sanguinary menaces. While invoking the guarantees of liberty and the declaration of rights, the authors of this insolent petition demanded the overthrow of the established order of things; they developed in barbarous language the theory of a purely democratic government, and concluded

with frightful predictions. "In the name of the nation which has its eyes fixed on this city, we come to assure you that the populace is roused, so as to be equal to the difficulty of the circumstances, and is ready to make use of energetic means to avenge the insulted majesty of the people. It is no longer time to dissemble; the plot is discovered; the hour is come; the tree of liberty, which we are going to plant, will flourish in peace, or blood will flow. Do the enemies of the country imagine that the men of the 14th of July have fallen asleep? If they have appeared to do so, their waking is terrible; they have lost nothing of their energy. Yes, legislators, it is time for the French people to show that it is worthy of the character which it has assumed. It has overthrown prejudices, it means to remain free, to deliver itself from the tyrants who are leagued against it. You know these tyrants. Relent no longer, when even a parliament would crush the will of a despot. We lament, gentlemen, the inactivity of our armies; we call on you to discover the cause of it. If it proceeds from the executive power, annihilate it. Reflect well; nothing can stop you; liberty cannot be suspended. If the executive power does not act, it is that which must be suspended."

Français de Nantes, the president, answered with dignity, that the laws alone had a right to avenge the nation, and that it was in them and by them that liberty might be found; but inviting the petitioners to the honor of the sitting, he added, that the assembly would take into consideration *their desire to remain armed till the constitution should be executed.*

The president then put to the vote the proposal to let the armed multitude pass through the hall of the assembly. Mayerne, Hua, and myself called in vain for the execution of the law, which prohibited the introduction of armed men into the hall of the legislative body. The assembly decreed, amidst the applauses of the galleries, that the petitioners should array themselves before us.

I here borrow from the author of the History of the French Revolution (M. Thiers) the narration of this afflicting scene; I do not know of any more accurate account, and I cannot but confirm it by my testimony, as an eyewitness.*

* " * * * The doors were then opened, and the procession, which at

Towards half-past four o'clock the rear of this infernal column had filed off, and Santerre with an air of triumph came to present a flag to the assembly, as if to make it an accomplice in the crime. All on a sudden we were informed that the crowd of insurgents, after having crossed the gardens of the Tuileries, had proceeded along the quay to the Place du Carrousel, and penetrated into the palace itself. It had met with no obstacles, except vain remonstrances of the municipal officers, and the useless presence of some battalions of the national guard, which, having no orders to repel this irruption by arms, had suffered their ranks to be half opened and the doors of the apartments to be forced. The sitting being broken up, I left the hall by the door next the garden, with some of our friends, among whom were Jaucourt and Theodore Lameth. We proceeded towards the palace, by the end of the great avenue, when I recognised, some steps before us, general Dumouriez, disguised in a large hat, and enveloped in an ample great coat. He had stopped at the edge of the basin in the middle, and turned with threatening gestures towards the central pavilion of the palace, the portico of which and the two side terraces were inundated by this furious multitude; equivocal and tardy menaces on the part of a minister who had been the first to wear the red

that moment amounted to at least 30,000 persons, crossed the hall. It is easy to conceive all that may be produced by the imagination of a mob left to itself. Enormous tables bearing the declaration of rights preceded the procession. Women and children were dancing round these tables, carrying olive branches and pikes, that is to say—peace or war, as the enemy might choose. They repeated in chorus the famous *ça ira*. Then came the workmen of all classes, with bad muskets, sabres, and sharp iron heads fastened to the end of large clubs. Santerre and the marquis de Saint-Hurugues, who had already distinguished himself on the 5th and 6th of October, marched with drawn sabres at their head. Battalions of the national guard followed in good order, to check the tumult by their presence. Then came more women and more armed men. Waving streamers bore the words 'The Constitution or Death!' Torn pairs of breeches were hurled in the air with cries of 'The Sans-culottes for ever!' Lastly, an atrocious symbol added ferocity to the strangeness of the scene; at the end of a pike a calf's heart was borne with this inscription, 'The heart of an aristocrat.' Grief and indignation burst forth at this sight. The frightful emblem immediately disappeared, but it was only soon to appear again at the gates of the Tuileries. The applauses of the galleries, the shouts of the people who crossed the hall, its civic songs, its confused uproar, the anxious silence of the assembly, composed a strange scene, afflicting even to those deputies, who looked on the multitude as an auxiliary."

cap, with which at that very moment the Jacobins were tarnishing the royal crown.

We hastened to the palace: the vestibule, the staircase, the hall of the guards were completely crowded. It was with the greatest difficulty that Jaucourt and myself got to the Salon de la Paix (Theodore Lameth having been separated from us by the crowd,) and to the embrasure of the window, where the king was entrenched behind a table and standing on a bench surrounded by national guards and other persons, who, with the same intentions as ourselves, had endeavored to approach his majesty. Several members of the deputation of the Gironde, among others Vergniaud, were in the midst of the crowd endeavoring to allay the tumult. The loudest vociferations came from the corner of the hall opposite to the window at which the king was placed. "No veto!" "Recall the patriot ministers!" "Down with the aristocrats!" "Down with the Austrian committee!"

Vergniaud desiring to harangue this infuriated multitude, a man of lofty stature took him on his shoulders; he obtained a few moments' silence, and contributed, by his impassioned address, to restrain the most vehement; it was nearly six o'clock when Pétion the mayor at length made his appearance in this horrible scene. He came to allay the storm which he had himself excited. Jaucourt and myself then hastened to our post in the assembly, where Girardin had taken the chair and opened the sitting. When we entered the hall, the assembly had just nominated the deputation of twenty-four members to wait upon the king; and Gohier, one of the secretaries was beginning to read the procès verbal of the preceding sitting. I hastened to the tribune.

"I interrupt the reading of the procès verbal; more urgent cares call upon us; I desire to speak upon a subject which concerns the public tranquillity, the honor of the national assembly, and the safety of the hereditary representatives of the French people.

"You have just sent to the king a deputation of twenty-four members; I believe that it is necessary immediately to take measures, which may assure you that your deputies to the king will be able to execute whatever they think calculated to procure the liberty and the safety of his person. Gentlemen, a short time after the breaking up of the sit-

ting of the assembly, having learnt that a great number of armed men filled the king's apartments, after having forced his guard, I joined some of my colleagues, to enter the palace. We saw the king in imminent danger."—(Murmurs from one side and from the galleries.)

—— *Charlier*—"The king is in the midst of the French people, he cannot incur any danger." (Noise.)

"I demand silence;" I replied, "the subject is sufficiently important to obtain it; the safety of the king, I repeat, is at stake. (Murmurs.) I demand to be heard in silence. (Murmurs.) Time presses—I have a right to speak, I will be heard."

Chabot—"He calumniates the people." (Noise.)

I continued, "If I had seen the king in the hands of the people, I should have had no uneasiness. I have often seen him so during the revolution, and I never conceived any alarm. But it is not the people that surrounds the king at this moment, it is a band of madmen, of persons infatuated. He was surrounded, assaulted, threatened, vilified by the emblem of a faction; he had a red cap on his head." (murmurs of the assembly, applauses of the galleries.)

Several voices exclaimed, "The cap of liberty is not degrading: to order! to the abbey!"—(Noise.)

"I demand," said I, "that the National Assembly shall take the necessary precautions, to assure itself that the measures which its deputies to the palace may have to take, shall be rendered effectual by a sufficient force."

Instead of deliberating on my proposal, it was eluded, and the Assembly contented itself with sending a second deputation of twenty-four members to the king, which was to relieve the first, in order that the Assembly might be informed every half hour, by the return of one of the deputations, of the situation in which the king might be. I insisted that the commander of the national guard should be sent for. Several members who had been eye-witnesses of the invasion of the palace, came successively to declare what they had seen and heard; and the galleries applauded or murmured, according as the expressions of these several witnesses flattered the passions, or blamed the excesses of the people. Soon afterwards, Brunck, one of our party, a respectable old man, who was the presi-

dent of the first deputation, gave an account to the Assembly in the following terms:—

"Gentlemen, the deputation which you have sent to the king found him in the situation with which you have been made acquainted. The deputation having seen the crowd of citizens who were in the apartments, penetrated with difficulty to the saloon in which the king was. M. Pétion, who was standing on an arm-chair, gave it up to me, that I might be raised above the crowd, and be able to speak to the king, who was himself standing on a bench. I addressed him nearly in the following terms:—"Sire, the National Assembly has deputed to you twenty-four of its members, to acquaint itself with the situation in which you are, to protect your constitutional liberty, and to incur with you all the dangers that may threaten you. The king replied, that he was sensible and grateful for the solicitude of the Assembly, that he was in the midst of his people. At this moment your second deputation arrived."

Lejosne, another member of this same deputation, added, "that the deputation had invited the king for his own safety to go into another apartment; that the people had made way, and that the king had been accompanied by the deputies. Lastly, that some members of the deputation had retired into the Salon de la Paix—had invited the people to go out, and that they had retired accordingly."

The report made in the name of the second deputation confirmed the details given by the first, and the serene courage which Louis XVI had displayed during this disastrous day.

The insurgents having at length evacuated the palace, the mayor, Pétion, repaired to the bar of the assembly.

After claiming indulgence, because he had not had time to arrange his ideas, he made the most shameful apology for the popular movement, and the conduct of the municipality. He even boasted of the measures which he had taken in opposition to those of the directory of the department; he stated that he had legally organised the armed assemblage; he had given it chiefs, taken from the national guard; and because the attack upon the king had been consummated without effusion of blood, without any violation of property, he congratulated himself on having prevented disorder, and affirmed that all had passed to the mutual satisfaction of the king and of the people. Not-

withstanding our decided remonstrances, this faithless depository of the municipal authority was admitted to the honors of the sitting, and soon left the assembly, amidst the reiterated applauses of the galleries.

Satisfied with this audacious trial of their strength, the Jacobins desired to preserve all the advantages they had gained, and to prevent the reaction which such an outrage on the royal authority could not fail to produce in public opinion. On the other hand, it was our duty to place the facts in the clearest light, and to act as organs of the public indignation. Daverhoult took upon himself to speak first, on the opening of the sitting on the following day (the 21st). Permission to do so was obstinately refused to him. Bigot de Préameneu, who sat in the centre, then proposed to the assembly to adopt some measure to prevent the admission into the hall of the legislative body of petitioners wearing arms. This proposal renewed the discussion which had taken place on the preceding day, and several of the most violent Jacobins, such as Lecointre, Puyraveau, Lamarque, &c., endeavored again to bring forward the arguments and quotations of precedents, of which Vergniaud had made so unfair a use, in order to obtain admission for the armed multitude. This time, however, the Girondins refrained, and Lasource even proposed an amendment to Bigot's proposition, and a decree was passed in the following terms:—"The national assembly decrees that in future no kind of armed body or assemblage whatever shall be admitted on the pretext of a petition or other cause, either to appear at the bar or to march past it."

Daverhoult then again ascended the tribune. The president put it to the vote whether he should be heard: two trials were doubtful, but he obtained leave to speak. "Gentlemen," said he, "a great offence has been committed, (violent interruptions,) the liberty and the dignity of the king have been violated, (murmurs on the right,) the king's guard has been forced, the doors of the apartments have been broken open with hatchets. The tumult has been such that one of our colleagues, haranguing the multitude addressed them in the following words:—'You shall not approach the king but by passing over my dead body.' (Pooh! pooh!) I call on the national assembly to display all the greatness of its character; to order the

minister of justice to prosecute the authors of this crime—to send for the minister of the interior, the directory of the department, (murmurs of the galleries,) and the commander of the national guard of Paris, (noise.) to ascertain whether orders were given to repel this aggression, or whether we must ascribe these misfortunes to the disobedience of those to whom the duty of guarding the king was confided, (loud exclamations at the extreme right:) and, lastly, that after this information the national assembly may take some resolutions which shall prevent the country from being exposed in future to such disorders."

This spirited address roused all the rage of the party. A noisy exchange of insulting recriminations threw the assembly into the greatest confusion; the galleries took part in the tumult, and the order of the day was loudly demanded. At this moment, the ministers appeared in the hall. Duranthon, the minister of justice, laid upon the table, the following letter from the king, which was read by the secretary.

"Mr. President, the national assembly is already acquainted with the events which took place yesterday. Paris is undoubtedly thrown into consternation by them; France will learn them with astonishment mingled with grief. I have been very sensible to the zeal which the assembly manifested towards me on this occasion. I leave it to its prudence to investigate the causes of this event, to consider the circumstances, and to take such measures as are necessary to maintain the constitution, to secure the inviolability and constitutional liberty of the hereditary representative of the nation. For myself, nothing can hinder me from doing at all times and under all circumstances, whatever is required by the duties imposed on me by the constitution which I have accepted, and the real interest of the French nation.

(Signed) "LOUIS."

This letter and the proposal of Daverhoult were referred to the committee of twelve, the same which had been formed on the 6th of March, 1792, to consider of the measures relative to the disturbances in the kingdom. Immediately afterwards we heard a report of the minister of the interior, Terrier de Montciel, on the events of the preceding day. This report was merely a communication

of his correspondence with the directory of the department, and of that of the latter with the municipality of Paris, from the first notice which the minister received of the assemblages in the Fauboungs of St. Marcel and St. Antoine, till the breaking out of the insurrection, and the march of the multitude to the assembly and the palace. These authentic documents entirely justified the regular conduct of the minister, and the legal measures of the department, as they proved the negligence, if not the connivance of the mayor and the municipality. This report and all the documents confirming it were referred to the committee of twelve.

A suppressed agitation prevailed in Paris like the swell after a storm. The abandonment in which the king and his family had been left, and his majesty's moderation had excited the interest of all well-disposed persons and abhorrence of the odious manœuvres of the faction. The Jacobins made new efforts to regain the ground which they had lost. Couthon, in the sitting of the 21st, proposed that the assembly should immediately discuss the question, whether decrees founded on temporary circumstances (*décrets de circonstance*), so he designated those relative to the priests who had not taken the oath, and the camp near Paris, to which the king had given his veto, should be subject or not to the king's sanction. Though strongly supported by Lamarque and Jean Debry, this motion, which was a violation of the constitution, was set aside by the order of the day.

Meantime a proclamation of the king, drawn up by the minister of the interior, Terrier de Monteiel, had just been posted up in Paris. It was in the following terms:—

"The French will learn, not without grief, that an armed multitude, misled by some factious persons, has entered the habitation of the king, has dragged cannon even into the hall of the guards, has broken open the doors of his apartment with hatchets, and then, abusing the name of the nation, has attempted to obtain by force the sanction, which his majesty has constitutionally refused, to two decrees.

"The king has opposed to the threats and insults of the factious, only his conscience and his love for the public good.

"The king does not know where they mean to stop;

but he feels it necessary to say to his French nation, that violence, to whatever degree of excess it may be carried, will never extort from him his consent to any thing which he shall believe to be contrary to the public interest.

"He exposes without regret his tranquillity, his safety; he sacrifices without difficulty the enjoyment of the rights which belong to all men, and which the law should cause to be respected in his favor as well as in that of all citizens; but, as the hereditary representative of the French nation, he has imperative duties to perform, and if he can make a sacrifice of his repose, he cannot do so of his duties.

"If those who desire to overthrow the monarchy want an additional crime, they may commit it. In the crisis in which it now is, the king will continue, to the last moment, to give to all the constituted authorities the example of the courage and firmness which alone can save the empire. In consequence he orders all the administrative bodies and municipalities to watch over the safety of persons and property. (Signed) "Louis."

This act of firmness excited anew the rage of the factions. At the same time the information given by the procurator-syndic of the department, that several assemblages were forming in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, and in the vicinity of the Tuileries, spread alarm, and orders were therefore given to the national guard to execute the decree passed on the preceding day. Pétion being summoned to the bar, quieted the uneasiness of the assembly, and praising, as usual, the respect of the people for the authorities, and their docile submission to the law, he answered for the tranquillity of the capital. The Jacobins exclaimed, that these pretended movements were only a manœuvre of the aristocracy, and that it had been intended to renew the sanguinary scene of the Champ de Mars. The minister of the interior giving an account, in the name of the king, of the measures which, by his order, had been taken by the directory of the department, concluded his communication, by reading the following note, which was distributed in profusion in the Faubourg Saint Antoine.

"We raise a second time to fulfil the most sacred of duties. The inhabitants of the four faubourgs of Paris, the men of the 14th of July, come to denounce to you a king, who is a perjurer, guilty of high treason, unworthy

of filling the throne any longer. Our suspicions respecting his conduct are at length verified, and we demand that the sword of justice shall strike him, in order that the punishment which he merits may serve as an example to all tyrants. If you still refuse our wishes, our arms are raised, and we will despatch the traitors wherever we may find them, even among you."

This firebrand, thrown among the ferocious actors of the 20th of June, was a worthy commentary on the motion of Couthon.

The fomenters of troubles were no less active without than within the capital. Every day we were obliged to endure the reading of inflammatory petitions, all insulting to the king, and threatening to ourselves, and recommending disobedience and insurrection; but these petitions were often set aside by the order of the day, because the members of the centre would have blushed to encourage such excesses, which even the Girondins themselves were not so shameless as to support. The latter, however, more and more irritated against the government since the expulsion of Roland, reserved themselves for a more serious attack, and it was not long before they again appeared upon the stage.

The assembly had decreed, on the 22d, on the report of Guyton de Morveau, in the name of the committee of twelve, that the king's ministers should immediately appear at the bar, and that the president should acquaint them with the intention of the assembly, to be informed of the measures which they might have taken, first, to check the troubles excited by fanaticism, and, secondly, to place an army of reserve between the frontiers and Paris. In consequence the ministers appeared all together, in the sitting of the 24th of June.

The minister of justice stated every thing that he had done to ensure the execution of the laws; he answered for the speedy success of the measure which he had taken to repress fanaticism and put an end to religious troubles; he asked the assembly to fix the definition of the expression *disturbers of the public tranquillity*, and desired laws to be enacted against seditious writings.

The minister of the interior, who had been only six days in office, had not yet been able to turn his attention to general measures. All his time, all his care had, he said,

been devoted to the means for securing the tranquillity of the capital. "A suppressed fermentation still prevailed, which announced new storms, more dreadful perhaps than those which we had escaped." He informed the assembly of an arbitrary arrest of priests who had not taken the oath, in the department of the Côte d'Or, and ended by reading a circular addressed by him to the eighty-three departments.

As for the minister of war, Lajard, he had made, on the preceding day, a special report on the plan of an army of reserve, to be placed between the frontiers and Paris; he had compared with the statement left by his predecessor general Dumouriez, that of the forces and means, now at his disposal, in order to ascertain the reality of our resources. He developed the basis and the grounds of a plan presented to the king, upon the natural defence of the frontiers, combined with the movements of the armies. The position of the camp, which this army of reserve was to occupy, was fixed at Soissons, a point to which the two principal lines of operation, that the enemy might follow, converged; one by the opening of Longwy, the other by that of Maubeuge. The recommendation of the report of the minister, and the plan fixed on by the king, were contained in the letter addressed to the president by his majesty, which the minister read to us.

"I request you, Mr. President, to acquaint the national assembly, that, having caused an account of the present situation of the armies to be rendered to me, I have judged it necessary to replace the reserve of the battalion of the volunteer national guards, which, in the first arrangements that I had made, formed a second line between the frontiers and the capital. This reserve having been successively united to the two armies, which are acting at this moment, I in consequence propose to the national assembly to decree the formation of forty-two new battalions of volunteer national guards, of which each department shall furnish half a battalion. I shall give orders that this additional force be placed in such a manner as to cover the capital, or to reinforce the armies as circumstances may require.

(Signed) "Louis."

Far from being satisfied with these partial reports, the Girondins saw in them only an intention to elude the execution of the decrees, and seized this opportunity to compromise the ministers, and to aggravate their responsibility, by considering it as common to all. "It is sporting with the assembly," said Guadet. "As soon as the ministers consent to enter into the king's council, when great troubles agitate the kingdom, and when the decrees which you have passed are, notwithstanding, suspended by the right which the king has used, and which the constitution gives him, you have this alternative, either they have betrayed the public interest, or they have taken beforehand sufficient measures to check the evils."

Ramond, protesting against a doctrine so contrary to the spirit of the constitution, answered that the national assembly, when maintaining harmony between the two powers, ought to find the resources which were required to secure the prosperity of the kingdom; that an attempt was made to establish, in an underhand manner, a responsibility of a new description; that the veto was spoken of as a thing for which the king's council was bound to provide a remedy, which should please those persons who had voted for a decree, not sanctioned, and that this was striking a fatal blow at the independence of the royal prerogative. "If any thing," added he, "is calculated to propagate in the empire interminable troubles, it is opinions of this kind produced with the assurance which talent and patriotism should give, but which more solid reflection ought to suppress in the mouths of the representatives of the nation."

Ramond proposed that the extraordinary committee should be authorised to confer with the ministers on the means of appeasing the troubles in the kingdom. The reporter Guyton maintained, that the proposal of Guadet was conformable to the decree of the assembly, relative to the account which the ministers were to give. The reading of this decree was called for, which only embittered the discussion. The Jacobins required that the ministers, who had not been able to hinder the king's refusal of his sanction, should be personally and collectively responsible, for the extraordinary *supplementary* measures, which, they said, ought to be taken, in order to fulfil the intention of

the decrees, which had not been sanctioned. We maintained, on the contrary, that the existing laws were sufficient, and that the minister could not be rendered responsible, except for the execution of them; but sophisms prevailed over reason and the evidence of constitutional principles; the assembly decided that the ministers had not fulfilled the decree of the 22d of June.

Though, in this succinct history of the legislative assembly, I have not thought it necessary to comprehend any more than the most remarkable events, and the debates, the importance and issue of which gradually led to the subversion of the monarchical constitution of 1791, I cannot pass over in silence the courage manifested by one of our colleagues, Delfant, in denouncing the monstrous organisation of the popular societies, endeavoring to stop the torrent at the moment when it threatened to break through the last barrier which could be opposed to it. This brave and honorable deputy, who had never before spoken, having obtained permission to do so in the sitting of the 25th of June, unveiled without any reserve the manœuvres of these societies, and forced the faction, which was already triumphant, to hear bitter truths, which might have enlightened the people, had they not already been carried away by the intoxication of anarchical doctrines. The speaker, who was frequently interrupted by murmurs and violent interrogations, could not finish his discourse. The assembly passed to the order of the day, and Delfant, quitting the tribune, had the honor of being ironically applauded by the galleries.

If this generous perseverance in defending true principles could not stop the progress of corruption, it served at least to suspend its fatal effects. The flagrant outrage of the 20th of June had so laid open the object of the faction, that the chiefs of the conspiracy, whether in the assembly itself or out of it, were equally embarrassed to justify or to disavow the part which they had taken in it. Being too well served by their most audacious agents, they resumed the mask of hypocrisy. The Girondins, while attacking the constitutional rights of the crown, again protested their attachment to the constitution. Chabat, in a wretched apology, explained his addresses to the Fauhourg St. Antoine, and pretended that he ought to be thanked for them, because, as he said, he had done his utmost to

prevent the 8000 petitioners from presenting themselves in arms at the assembly and the palace. Pétion, on his side, alleged the care he had taken to maintain the tranquillity of the capital.

Meantime the news from the departments informed us, that the late events and the king's proclamation had produced very different impressions. The oppression exercised by the popular societies had not been able, in the departments of the north and of the west, to stifle the cry of indignation. This cry had been heard, especially in the army, and we had not failed to profit by this feeling. The offensive doubts expressed by the Girondins respecting the intentions of general Lafayette, on occasion of his letter to the assembly and the authenticity of his siguature, had increased the discontent of all those who were under his command; and numerous addresses which had been delivered to him attested the attachment of all the corps to the constitution, to the king, and to the general who had gained their affection and their confidence.

The manifestations of the authorities in the frontier departments, and those of Normandy, left no doubt respecting public opinion in that great portion of France, and all the rest could not fail to follow this movement, if the monster of anarchy were put down in the capital. This state of things, our urgent solicitations, the impending danger which threatened the royal family, but, above all, the heroic devotedness of Lafayette to the cause of liberty, which was already tarnished and profaned—such were the motives which induced the general to take upon himself the responsibility of quitting his army, and hastening with a small number of officers to Paris.

On the 28th of June Lafayette repaired to the assembly, desired to be introduced, and delivered at the bar a speech, which concluded in the following terms: "I beseech the national assembly to order that the instigators of the crimes and acts of violence, committed in the Tuileries on the 20th of June, be prosecuted and punished as guilty of treason to the nation; to destroy a sect which usurps the sovereignty, tyrannises over the citizens, and whose public debates leave no doubt of the atrocity of the projects of those who direct them. Lastly, I venture to beseech you, in my name, and in the name of all honest people in the kingdom (murmurs on the left,) to take effectual measures

to ensure respect to the constituted authorities, especially your own and that of the king, and to give the army the assurance that the constitution shall not receive any injury in the interior, while the brave French lavish their blood in defence of the frontiers."

Being admitted to the honors of the sitting amidst the applauses of the greater part of the assembly, he witnessed the warm debate to which his speech gave rise. Guadet spoke first. Making use of his favorite figure, bitter irony, he asked, if the Austrian army was beaten. "No," said he, "our enemies are still the same,—our external situation has not changed, and yet the general of one of our armies is at Paris. What powerful motive has brought him hither? It is our internal troubles. He fears lest the national assembly should not have in itself sufficient power to repress them, and constituting himself the organ both of his army and of all the honest men in the kingdom, he calls upon us to maintain the constitution."

The speaker, seeing also in the steps taken by Lafayette not only a violation of the principles of the constitution, but likewise an infringement of the several powers, demanded that the minister of war should be interrogated, in order to learn from him whether the general had come to Paris by order or with leave of absence; he proposed, in conclusion, that the extraordinary committee should, on the following day, make a report, tending to prohibit generals commanding an army from coming to present petitions at the bar of the assembly.

Ramond answered. He showed first, quoting what had been done in England since the revolution of 1688, that our constitution was at present nothing more than a theory, on the application of which all those who had different interests would dispute, according to circumstances and their passions. It was thus, he said, that very recently a favorable construction had been put on the constitution and the laws, when an armed multitude, which might be considered as formidable in the midst of a legislative assembly, had appeared at the bar; it was alleged, that there were no preceding and prohibitory laws, which had not been abrogated by usage. Now M. Lafayette, who has given to the nation as a security his whole fortune, his whole life, a reputation of more value than

life and fortune, appears at the bar, and suspicions and alarms are expressed, and passions are unchained.

After having justified the step taken by Lafayette and those which he had adopted to avert the public danger, Ramond proposed that the petition of General Lafayette should be referred to the extraordinary committee, which should deliberate on the matter and present a report in as short a time as possible. Notwithstanding the efforts of Isnard and some others to obtain leave to speak, the debate was closed, but the question of priority, between the proposal of Guadet and that of Ramond, gave occasion to a very vehement discussion. Girardin was insulted. This tumult did not hinder the priority from being given to the proposal of Ramond; the chicanery on the position of the question was equally unsuccessful. This time the centre remained faithful to us, and the assembly, after calling over the names which confirmed our majority, referred the petition of M. Lafayette to the committee of twelve.

Lafayette had reason to flatter himself that his presence would revive the ardor of the old national guard, and we participated in this hope. It was in fact the only force which could come to our assistance, to save the constitution and the king; but it was necessary to act with vigor and despatch, to disperse the Jacobin Club, which was already in alarm, and to push the reaction to the utmost. The general was resolved upon this, and all his old friends were no less resolved than himself to brave all dangers, in order to effect this new and salutary revolution.

When Lafayette, after quitting the assembly, waited on the king, he was received and listened to with kindness, but with reserve, and not, as has been stated, with a repulsive coldness. Ought Louis XVI to have openly avowed this enterprise, and placed himself at the head of the movement? Would not his concurrence and that of his most devoted servants have impeded the success, and multiplied obstacles, by the unpopularity of these agents? If Lafayette found all the means of action, and all the strength on which he had depended, the re-establishment of the royal constitutional authority was the necessary and immediate consequence of the defeat of the Jacobins; on the contrary supposition, the situation of the parties was not changed, and the éclat of his spontaneous pro-

ceeding, enlightening the opinion of good citizens, the majority of whom had declared in favor of the general in the assembly, would acquire more strength and unity to remedy disorders.

This did not happen; it was too late. For nearly a year the national guard had been almost entirely disorganised, and the introduction of the rabble, of men armed with pikes, had successively generated in the ranks, distrust, disgust, and terror. Civic devotedness, *esprit du corps*, and voluntary subordination had disappeared with the unity of command and the efficient composition of the staffs. A considerable number of these old citizen soldiers, and especially of those who had formed the select companies, hastened to pay their respects to their former general; but these were only individuals; what could be done with these fragments of the patriotic army of Paris? Nothing less would have been necessary than entire battalions, rallied under their old colors, to enable Lafayette to strike a decisive blow, and carry the masses with him. He attempted it in vain; being forced to renounce the plan, he returned to his army, afflicted at not having been able to effect his generous design, but with the honor of having undertaken it.

This episode had for a time diverted the assembly from the most important object of its deliberation, the measures to be taken in order to remedy the public dangers at home and abroad. The extraordinary committee of twelve, to which all the proposals relative to the subject had been referred, presented its report, in the sitting of the 30th, by Pastoret. This speaker, who had been appointed to give an account of the labors of the committee, embraced the subject in its widest extent; he made a general exposition of the situation of France, and of its government, regenerated by the revolution, reconstituted under a new legislation; he examined the action of the several powers, in the limits which were prescribed to them by the constitution, criticised the deviations with which they had been reproached, and thus went through all the branches of the administration, indicating successively, though in a vague manner, divers means to make them concur in the safety and the defence of the state, and the preservation of social order.

Pastoret, with the good intention of calming hatred, ba-

lanced the errors of the opposite parties against each other. Not having been commissioned to present any proposals, or any positive measure, he concluded his report, or rather his speech, with an affecting invocation to concord, adjuring his colleagues to set the example.

It was unanimously decreed that this report should be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments.

Jean Debry then presented a draft of a decree, which was a logical deduction from the labors of the committee. He discussed the question with more frankness than Pastoret had been able to do, and showed with equal energy and precision, the spirit, the object, and the intentions of the proposed decree. The debate was adjourned to the 22d of July.

The Jacobins released from their fears by the departure of Lafayette, could not fail to be convinced that they might venture every thing with impunity; their clubs, their pamphleteers, discharged all their rage upon the general; they caused him to be burned in effigy, and their associates in the assembly exerted themselves to the utmost to regain the majority which for a moment they had lost. On occasion of the letter which Lafayette on leaving Paris had addressed to the president, and in which he called on the assembly, in the name of the nation and of the army, speedily to take into consideration the complaints which he had addressed to it, Delauny d'Angers renewed the motion of Guadet, and went so far as to propose to the national assembly to decree, "that till the empire should be in a state of peace and the revolution definitively closed, it should consult only the imminence of the public danger and the supreme law, of the safety of the people, in the measures of surveillance and repression to be taken against the conspirators, agitators, &c."

To counterbalance and neutralise the effect of the numerous addresses of the constituted authorities, and the petitions with thousands of signatures, relative to the events of the 20th of June, we were assailed by others, composed in a contrary spirit. Those of Marseilles, Montpellier and Toulouse, announced the departure of organised bands which were marching to Paris, there to form the camp of 20,000 men, proposed by the decree which the king had not sanctioned; they required the assembly to authorise the movements of these armed bands, and to

provide for their protection on the way. On the 30th of June, Guinette moved that to regulate this sort of *levée en masse*, which, he said, was only carrying into execution the arrangement determined on by the king, after the refusal of his sanction, the assembly should resolve that "every citizen who should present himself in arms to any municipality should be inscribed as a defender of the country."

I decidedly opposed this infraction of the constitution, which tended to nothing less than to authorise the peremptory execution of decrees, which should not yet have obtained the character of laws, not being confirmed by the royal sanction.

In the same sitting, M. Rhull, a deputy of the Lower Rhine, having announced that columns of the enemy's troops and considerable trains of artillery were approaching the banks of the Rhine, and threatened Alsace, and that it was necessary immediately to cover this undefended frontier, Gensonné rose to speak. This orator of the Gironde was one of the members of the committee of twelve to which the minister of war had made a confidential communication of the last operations of marshal Luckner; he accused the minister and threatened him with impeachment.

Indignant at the indiscretion, which was equally malicious and impolitic, and an attack so little merited by my honorable friend, the minister Lajard, I ascended the tribune to give a just idea of the position of our armies at this time, to justify the minister on the ground of preceding facts, and to guard the assembly against the danger of treating such questions in public, and divulging the secret of the operations of the war.

After some observations on the illegality of the proposal of Gensonné, addressing myself more particularly to the speakers who had so perseveringly supported the political and military operations of Dumouriez, "You have desired war," said I; "you play the dreadful game; you play it with all its chances; you employ, without doubt, all your resources and all your arms, but the best of all arms is the unfettered direction of operations by the executive power."

Though the assembly closed the discussion after my speech, Gensonné, resuming his discourse to enforce his proposal, maintained that the responsibility of the minister was engaged by the effect of an intrigue, which he would

not unveil at that moment. "Unveil, unveil that intrigue!" cried several of us, rushing towards the tribune. The opposite side hastened to support the speaker. The tumult was dreadful. Gensonné, being called upon to explain himself, had recourse to the threadbare accusation of the Austrian committee; said that the war, declared in spite of the court, was only a ridiculous intrigue, and pretended to prove that the retrograde movement of Luckner was nothing less than an act of treason, which could not be imputed to the marshal, but to the minister of war and to the Austrian committee. This time too the terrible weapon of denunciation failed in the hands of the Girondins. The assembly passed to the order of the day.

Being resolved to fulfil our oath of fidelity to the constitution, we defended the new ministers, who had devoted themselves in the most critical circumstances. The greater number of the constituted authorities had loudly expressed their censure and indignation at the impunity of the crimes of the 20th of June, and demanded the repression of the popular societies. Our adversaries, on the contrary, supported the anarchical usurpation of powers by these societies, and represented to the people, as a flagrant conspiracy, our last efforts to maintain liberty by the execution of the laws. The whole time of our sittings was consumed in idle debates. The members indulged in most violent recriminations and personal insults. A too faithful image of the troubles and the passions which distracted France, the assembly was now nothing more than an arena, where reason and sound opinions struggled with a faction, which had no longer any check. The tribune of the Jacobins resounded with the most seditious motions. "It was not a partial insurrection," they said, "which should be made, but a general insurrection." The bar of the assembly was constantly crowded with petitioners; most of them having no mission, but from obscure clubs, spoke with insolence in the name of the nation, and proposed as an effectual remedy for public troubles the overthrow of social order. Meantime, however, some generous voices were heard. Two deputies of the constituent assembly, Dupont de Nemours and Guillaume, presented on the first of July an energetic petition, that judicial proceedings might be instituted against the abettors of the events of the 20th of June: after having read this petition with firmness,

they laid it on the table. It was subscribed by 20,000 persons. It is distressing to say, but history will record this melancholy truth, as the most deplorable example of subjugation under the yoke of terror, that this list of 20,000 courageous citizens was converted in the sequel into a list of proscription.

The Jacobins, perceiving that such considerable masses of citizens, ready to defend their rights and their liberty, increased and rallied round the constituted authorities, hastened to attack the directories of departments which had declared themselves with the greatest energy. They denounced the decree of the department of Somme, one of the most remarkable acts of this kind, and took advantage of the circumstance, to propose to the assembly that the sittings of the administrative bodies should be public. This was overthrowing at one blow the last barrier which could stop the invasion of democratical principles. It was increasing without limit the influence of the popular societies, and paralysing by the terror of denunciation the legal action of all the agents of authority. The Girondins strongly supported this motion. Genty, one of the most courageous of our friends, quoted very à-propos the opinion of Mirabeau on a similar motion made to the constituent assembly, and the memorable words of that orator, who caused the proposal to be rejected as a principle of disorganisation and dissolution. Vergniaud, however, supported this same principle, and required that the decree should be immediately passed.

In a question, the consequences of which would be so serious, we had a right to depend on the support of the members of the centre, which alone could give us the majority. This majority failed us, and the fatal principle of the publicity of the sittings of the departmental authorities was decreed, amidst the loud applauses of the galleries.

Encouraged by this victory, the Girondins attacked with the greater fury, the ministry which they could not pardon for having taken the place of their ejected friends, and for frankly supporting the constitutional party. Montceil, the minister of the interior, was the especial object of their animadversions, on account of his firm and decided character.

The decree of the Somme served again as a pretext. Guyton de Morveau denounced the printing of this decree at the royal printing office, and the transmission of it to

the eighty-two departments. On his motion, the minister was summoned to answer categorically the question, whether the order for printing and transmitting this decree to the eighty-two departments, or to some of them, emanated from him. Montciel replied coolly, that the question of the assembly was twofold: first, whether he had transmitted the decree; and, secondly, whether he had sent it to one, two, three, or four departments: and as it appeared to him that this series of questions was put *to entangle him in his words*, he begged leave to reply in writing. This irritated the Jacobins. Guadet represented the prudent precaution of the minister as an insult, a want of respect to the assembly, and required that he should immediately answer yes or no. The question being put to him in these terms by the president, Montciel persisted, with dignity, in his refusal to answer, except in writing, after having ascertained in his office what had been done. He was supported by several of our friends. Becquey, Daverhoult, Hébert explained, and showed the grounds of the regular conduct of the minister, and his honest reserve in not implicating his responsibility, except for facts of which he was certain. Fresh murmurs, fresh bursts of anger followed, but neither the pertinacity of Guyton de Morveau, nor the suspicious and vague conjectures ventured by some others, nor the virulent accusation of treason advanced by Isnard—nothing could move the minister. "Legal proofs," said Isnard, "of the treachery, of the bad faith of the agents of the executive power we have; we have them in the silence of this minister. It is asked, where are the traitors? I answer, here is one." At the close of the debate Lagrevol, one of the members of the centre, while he blamed the decree of the department of the Somme, and acknowledged the necessity of obliging the minister to give a categorical answer, demonstrated that either from want of memory, or from ignorance of the facts, it could not be presumed that the silence of the minister was a refusal to answer, and that his answer could not and ought not to be required, except in writing. This motion, which was identical with the minister's own proposal, was adopted by the assembly.

On the very next day Montciel wrote to the president, to inform him that he had verified the facts respecting which the assembly had questioned him, and that he had

ascertained that the decree of the department of the Somme was included among the documents relative to the events of the 20th of June, which he had ordered to be printed; but that he had not given any orders to send this decree to the eighty-two departments, and that this document had not issued from his office.

Ineffectual as the reaction of the constitutional party had been since the events of the 20th of June, the faction, exasperated by our constant opposition, no longer delayed to give the signal for a general convulsion. Thuriot, supporting a petition of the section of the Lombards, moved, in the very terms of the petitioners, first, that in all towns, the population of which amounted to more than fifty thousand souls, the staff of the national guard should be discharged, and in its stead another chosen by the citizens, in their respective sections, the sittings of which should from that moment be permanent; second, that the assembly should decree that the country was in danger. After a short discussion, the first part of this motion was decreed: the second was only the petition of the proposal made by Jean Debry in the sitting of the 30th of June. On the 3d of July, Vergniaud was the first who spoke on this important question. He read a discourse, which was in fact a manifesto prepared long beforehand; a perfect model of the eloquence of the tribune, but in which admirable talents and all the resources of the art of oratory were lavished to give the color of patriotic sentiments to the most dangerous political sophisms, the most perfidious insinuations, the most inflammatory excitements to sedition.

Vergniaud concluded by proposing to declare the country in danger, and the ministers responsible for all internal troubles, of which religion should be the pretext; and likewise for any invasion of the French territory, for want of precautions, instead of the camp of twenty thousand men, decreed by the assembly, and refused by the king.

During the reading of this speech, which was listened to with the greatest attention, I was fully sensible how important it was to weaken the effect of it by an immediate reply. Vaublanc, whose turn it was to speak, having consented to give way to me, I ventured to answer extempore.

Frequent and vehement interruptions proved that a part of the assembly listened to me with disapprobation;

our adversaries were impatient when they saw facts represented in their true light, and the object of their perfidious designs discovered notwithstanding their sophisms.

The debate, which was interrupted by several motions, and by a letter from the king announcing the resignation of the minister of justice, Duranthon, who was succeeded by M. Dejoly, was resumed on the following day, the 4th of July. Jean Debry again read the draft of a decree which he had already presented; it was declared necessary to discuss it immediately, and after a short debate upon the articles the assembly decreed,

"1. That when the internal or external safety of the state should be threatened, and the legislative body should have judged it indispensable to take extraordinary measures, it should declare it by the following form:—*Citizens, the country is in danger.*"

"2. That this declaration should be made by an act of the legislative body, and that the king's sanction should not be necessary."

"3. That all citizens able to bear arms, and who had already done duty as national guards, should be in a state of permanent activity."

Then followed sixteen articles, relative to the organisation, arming, pay, &c. of these levies en masse.

While the Jacobins, always in the name of the public safety and of the dangers which threatened liberty, extorted from the legislative assembly measures contrary to the constitution; while they were completing their project of alienating from the king the confidence and respect of the people, and thus paralysed the regular and legal action of the government, the new ministers opposed to these manœuvres the spontaneous acts of the crown, which were best calculated to dispel suspicion and to encourage the well-disposed. The king wrote to the assembly to express his desire to celebrate the memory of the compact of alliance contracted on the altar of the country on the 14th of July, 1790, and there to receive the oaths of all the citizens, who should be admitted to keep the anniversary of the federation. On the same day, the 5th of July, the ministers of war and foreign affairs, who had been sent for, made their reports; the first on the measures which he had taken to reinforce the armies on those parts of the frontiers which were most immediately

threatened; the second on the information which he had received, relative to the march of the Prussian columns and the movements of the emigrants.

The minister for foreign affairs, laying on the table documents which confirmed the intrigues carried on, the loans projected, with the assent of the French princes, communicated also the declaration, by which Louis XVI disavowed and blamed all these hostile arrangements, made in his name and in concert with the enemies of France.*

The object of the report of the minister of war, Lajard, was of no less importance, since this minister, giving an account, day by day, of what he had done, in order to provide for the defence of the eastern frontier, laid bare the faults of his predecessor, and cast on the Girondin ministry the reproaches of ignorance and negligence with which its defenders pretended to overwhelm the new constitutional ministry. This report gave rise to a debate in which I had to take a part, and I embraced the opportunity to justify the opinion which I had before expressed on this important subject. Gensonné observed, in the first instance, that in case of impending hostilities, the king was bound by the constitution to give an express notice in writing, which the minister for foreign affairs was to countersign, after having developed the measures which he might have taken to prevent hostilities. "I ask," said

* "The King of the French, being informed that his name continues to be used in order to propose negotiations with foreign powers, to contract loans, and even to raise a military force, desiring once more to confirm, in the most solemn manner, his attachment to the constitution, which he has freely accepted and sworn to defend, disavows all declarations, protests, negotiations with foreign courts, loans, levies of military forces, purchases of arms, ammunition, &c.; and in general, all acts, public or private, done in his name by Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, Charles-Phillippe, Louis-Joseph, and Louis-Antoine Henry, French princes, and by the other emigrants who have rebelled against the laws of their country:

"Declares that his interest and that of the people, whose hereditary representative he is, are for ever inseparable; that the government, the functions of which are confided to him, will be maintained by him in all its purity.

"Firm in this resolution, the King of the French directs his minister for foreign affairs to cause notice to be given to all the powers that, entirely devoted to the cause of the French people, he will make use of all the means which the constitution has placed in his power, against the enemies of France, whatever pretext they may allege for tolerating those armed assemblages of the emigrant princes, or for supporting them in their hostile demands."

he, "whether it is at the moment when the Prussian columns are already on their march—when they are on our frontiers—when hostilities have commenced, and have been published throughout Europe for nearly a month, that you should expect a notification of the nature of that, which has just been made to you!"

Gensonné then moved, that, without paying any attention to the ministerial communications, the assembly should proceed to the order of the day, and oblige the minister to come on the following day, to give an account of the negotiations.

I replied.—I was interrupted not only by violent murmurs, but by incidental motions, and I could not resume, till the assembly had been consulted. I concluded with the few following words:—"I ought at length to be allowed to explain myself with respect to the sense which I give to the word *factious.* When I speak of the factious, I know what I say, and I desire no better than to define them. I call *factious* those who prefer the vilest passions to the public interest;—(murmurs on the right,) —and I well knew that I touched the ark of the covenant, when I touched the old ministry."

To leave no pretext on the form of the notification, the minister for foreign affairs addressed to the assembly on the same day, *July* 6, a letter from the king.*

But the Jacobins, refusing to recognise in these public

* This letter was as follows:—

"It is with regret, gentlemen, that I see another enemy has declared himself. Prussia, which so many interests appeared to attach to France, forgetting these interests, conspires with its rival and natural enemy against the French constitution. Its successive steps have assumed too marked a character to leave any possibility of doubting henceforth its hostile intentions. The convention of Pilnitz, the alliance with Austria, have been the consequences; the reception given to the rebels, the acts of violence exercised towards Frenchmen, whom commercial affairs called to that court; the conduct of that court towards a French minister; the departure of its envoy-extraordinary, without taking leave; the formal refusal to allow our chargé-d'affaires to reside at Berlin; the efforts of the Prussian agents at other courts to raise up enemies against us; lastly, the march of the Prussian troops to the number of 50,000 men, and their assembling on our frontiers, all prove a concert between the cabinet of Vienna and that of Berlin. These, gentlemen, are imminent hostilities in the terms of the constitution. I give notice of them to the legislative body, and I depend on the union and courage of all the French to combat and repulse the enemies of the country and of liberty.

(Signed), "LOUIS."
(Countersigned) "CHAMBONAS."

testimonies the sincere expression of the king's intentions, were angry, and accused them of hypocrisy and treachery. "In vain," cried Lamarque, "does the government seek to make itself popular during the fortnight of the federation, to resume after it, according to circumstances, its ordinary course. The temporary mask of civism will not deceive the people."

These last expressions were the watchword.

Only a few days were to pass before the moment when the king, desiring to regain the general confidence, was to renew the oath which he had taken when he accepted the constitution, and to give to the people a solemn pledge of the sincerity of his sentiments. The conspirators had not a moment to lose, if they would prevent the effect of this solemn act. This was the common object of the Jacobins and the Girondins, but these two factions endeavored to accomplish it by different means; both of them labored to lead the assembly to resolutions conformable to their views: the latter, by gradually weakening the executive power, and by successively stripping it of all its principal attributes, to obtain the forfeiture of the crown, and a sort of republican dictatorship; the former, by suddenly usurping the exercise of all the powers, and transferring it to the assembly, in order to attain in fact a democratic republic. Two remarkable speeches, delivered in the sittings of the 5th and 6th of July, on the dangers of the country, indicated this divergence of opinions relative to the probable issue of the impending crisis. The debate was opened on the 5th of July by Torné, a Jacobin member, who had never before spoken, and who astonished us by his powerful reasoning and the vigor and clearness of his style. It was a violent accusation, in which all the labors of the constituent assembly, from the repression of the petitioning levellers of the Champ de Mars, were considered as so many deviations from the principles established by the declaration of rights, and as criminal attacks upon liberty; all the acts of the executive power were recapitulated, and represented in the odious light of a complete system of treachery and usurpation of the national sovereignty. The speaker attacked with the same virulence the legislators and the king; he accused all parties, and seeing no means of safety but in a new revolution, demanded the

forfeiture of the executive power, the dissolution of the legislative assembly, and the convocation of a national convention.

Torné concluded by proposing the following decree:—

"The national assembly decrees:—

"Art. 1. In the critical circumstances in which the nation is now placed, the legislative body could not, without betraying its confidence, neglect or delay to address to it the following declaration:—

Citizens, the country is in danger!

"Art. 2. The national assembly, in consequence of its declaration, made in article 1, reserves to itself the faculty to take, according as the danger of the country may increase, and independently of the measures decided on in its decree of the 4th of June instant, such other powerful measures, as circumstances may render necessary, and determines to act solely according to the maxim, paramount to every constitution: *The safety of the people is the supreme law.*"

The friends of the speaker demanded that his speech should be printed. Pastoret, the reporter, firmly opposed this proposal; he was indignant at language so infamous, which he said was a proof of the connivance of the enemies of liberty abroad and at home to ruin France, and to plunge it into the gulf of anarchy. The Assembly passed to the order of the day. On the next day, the 6th, the debate continued, and it was the turn of the Girondins to state their views and system on the great question of the measures to be taken to remedy the dangers of the country. This task devolved on the gravest and most learned of their speakers. The philosopher Condorcet laid down in his exordium some of those vague maxims, the consequences of which, if widely applied, may lead to the most dangerous errors.

Having, by his aphorisms, enlarged the basis of his doctrine, Condorcet, before proceeding to the application, pointed out different causes of the dangers of the country, among which he indicated more especially the pretended coalition of the foreign enemies with the constitutional party, which he accused of false zeal and hypocrisy. He attacked more directly the royal authority, calling to mind the refusal to sanction the decrees relative to the priests who had not taken the oath, and to the camp of 20,000

men. He advised the assembly to bring forward these decrees again, and to present a kind of challenge to the king.

Condorcet wished also that the ministers should be declared collectively responsible. He imputed to them the crime of having dismissed the minister Roland, and considering them in a state of suspicion, he demanded that they should give an account to the assembly, day by day, of all their measures, and of all the orders which they should have given; but he required that a decree of accusation should be immediately passed against Montciel, the minister of the interior, and against the minister of war, Lajard; the first on account of the king's proclamation of the 11th of June, and of the decrees of the departments which this proclamation had occasioned; the second for having compelled the retreat of Luckner, by refusing to send to him the troops of which he was able to dispose, and in particular the regiments in garrison at Paris. In a word, all that these two ministers had done since the 21st of June, to stop the progress of the insurrection contrived by the Jacobins, was, according to the speaker, a series of offences against the safety of the state and the public tranquillity.

The whole insidious reasoning of this discourse, which was written with academic purity of style, tended to vest in the legislative assembly the exercise of the executive power in the several branches of the administration, under the specious pretext of a superintendence which was become necessary. The speaker extended this superintendence to the employment of the funds voted for the secret expenses of the department of foreign affairs, and even to those of the civil list. It was proper, he pretended, that the agents of the treasury should be nominated by the electoral assemblies.

Further on, Cordorcet attacked the good faith of the king, the sincerity of his personal acts and of his disavowals, by indirect ways, by mere suppositions, it is true, but which were the more perfidious, because the people always take such oratorical figures literally. His sally against the French princes was equally violent, but supported by better arguments. "Decree that the property of the French princes shall be immediately sold, to indemnify citizens deprived of their possessions in the name of

the allied kings, whom those princes have excited to lay waste the country. Let this property, whatever be its nature, be sold for ready money, and in small lots; it amounts to nearly 100,000,000 of francs, and instead of three princes you will have 100,000 landowners; their palaces will become the retreat of the poor, the asylum of industry; cottages, inhabited by peaceful virtue will rise in those gardens which are devoted to pride and effeminacy."

But Cordorcet reserved his sharpest darts to discharge them at the constitutional party: he compared the conduct of General Lafayette, both to that of Cromwell to obtain the protectorate, and to that of Monk, sacrificing to his king the liberty which he at first had served.

Then affecting the sentiments of moderation and concord, he mingled with this effusion of patriotic wishes, the bitterness of absurd reproaches, which were evidently addressed to us.

Cordorcet ended by proposing an address to the king, which, in substance, was only the peroration of his speech. The assembly voted that it should be printed, as well as the three drafts of decrees, the basis of which he had laid down in his prolix manifesto, but no member was so shameless as to second the proposal to send to the king his insulting address.

We were indignant, and above all afflicted, at this prostitution of so much knowledge and such talent. The Jacobins, but ill-satisfied, applauded with regret the success of the Girondin speakers, who always gave them umbrage by moderating their violence. The majority of the assembly was fatigued by a debate which revived hatred, and carried it to the highest degree of exasperation. This temper, so contrary in appearance to the design which had been conceived by a worthy and very enlightened man, the Abbé Lamourette, Bishop of Lyons, was, however, favorable to it. On the following day, the 7th, he obtained leave to speak for a motion of order; his first words, his noble countenance, and the sweetness of his voice, gained him at the outset a favorable attention.

None of the proposed measures seemed to him calculated to reach the source of the actual malady of France. "This source, which must be dried up," said he, "at whatever cost, is the disunion of the national assembly."

"Crush, gentlemen, crush by common execration, and by a last and irrevocable oath, crush the republic and the two chambers. Let us mingle in one and the same mass of free men, equally formidable to the spirit of anarchy and the spirit of feudalism. This will be the moment when we may say with truth, France is saved."

These words touched every heart, and were universally applauded by the assembly and the galleries. The bishop of Lyons then proposed that on a certain day, and at a certain hour, the president should declare that *all those who abjure and execrate the republic and the two chambers should rise.* "This moment!" was echoed from all sides. "Yes, we swear, we swear it!" This oath was repeated by all the deputies at once, as well as by the public; and in a transport of enthusiasm, which did honor to the French character, the members of the opposite sides, crossing the hall, rushed into each other's arms, and mingled in the ranks of those who had hitherto been their enemies.

I went and sat down between Bazire and Merlin. I was particularly acquainted with the latter, whose character I have always held in great esteem. I shall relate in the sequel on what important occasion he gave me proofs of his regard.

The speech of Lamourette was ordered to be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments.

Nothing was wanting to the solemnity of this reconciliation; no means were neglected to render it durable, and to imbue public opinion with the generous sentiments which had just been displayed in the assembly. A deputation, of which the respectable author of the motion was the president, was instructed immediately to convey to the king the procès-verbal of the sitting, and while it was gone to the Tuileries, the members of the several parties emulated each other in zealously bringing forward proposals, all directed towards the object of confirming internal peace by the union of the constituted authorities. It was Bazire who obtained a decree that all the authorities should be invited to the bar, to hear from the mouth of the president the recital of what had just passed, and to receive the invitation immediately to acquaint all the citizens with it. Brissot, who was to speak directly after Condorcet, said that, without renouncing the measure which he had to

propose, and which he believed to be necessary, he felt that he had need to correct a speech, which, being prepared for other circumstances, might revive animosity, which had been appeased. Bishop Lamourette soon returned, in the name of the deputation, to give an account of his mission, and of the extreme satisfaction of the king, and announced that his majesty would himself come to the assembly. The king, in fact, appeared a few moments afterwards, surrounded by his ministers. He was received with the loudest acclamations, and pronounced in a firm voice, though with emotion, the following words:—

"Gentlemen:—The act which most touches my heart is that of the union of the will of all, for the safety of the country. I have long since desired this happy moment: my wish is fulfilled. I come to express to you myself that the nation and the king are but one. If they aim at the same object, their united efforts will save France. Attachment to the constitution will unite all Frenchmen. The king will always set them the example."

President Girardin answered, that the harmony between the constituted powers would give to the French nation the strength which it needed to break the league of the tyrants combined against its independence and its constitution, and that it saw in the frank proceedings of the king the presage of its success.

New and warm applauses followed the speech of the king and the answer of the president, and Louis XVI, before he withdrew, added these few words: "I was sorry, gentlemen, to be obliged to wait for a deputation, for I longed to be among you."

While we were waiting for the return of the deputation which had been sent to the king, the debate on the dangers of the country being in fact suspended, the assembly, in the calm produced by this affecting and unexpected scene, had resumed the course of its ordinary business. Muraire, reporter of the committee of legislation, had just laid before the assembly a chapter of the law on rights of citizens, when a deputation of twenty-four members of the general council of the commune of Paris appeared at the bar. The object of this petition made a strange contrast with what had just taken place, and with the feeling that then pervaded the assembly.

The directory of the department, which since the 20th of June had prosecuted its investigation into the causes and the promoters of the disorders of that day, had ascertained the culpable negligence and the disobedience of the commune of Paris, and had in consequence just suspended from their functions the mayor Pétion, and the procurator, Manuel. It is certain that the decree of the directory had been passed on the 6th, while the assembly was listening to the famous speech of Condorcet, and that the members of that superior authority could not be informed of the unforeseen effect of the motion of Lamourette. This suspension was undoubtedly an act of justice and of courage, but it was unseasonable; and if we suppose that the reconciliation of the parties could have been known to the directory, when it passed its decree, it would have been justly considered as very impolitic. It must not be forgotten that there was not in Paris at that time any public force so organised as to support legally exercised authority. The devotedness of the directory was but the more noble and generous. The president was the virtuous Larochefoucauld, who soon after had to atone with his head for the honor of having performed his duty.

The spokesman of the deputation, stating the complaints of the municipal council, endeavored to justify the conduct of the mayor and of the procurator of the commune, made a pompous eulogium on them, boldly confessed the connivance of the council, and said that the conduct of the municipality on that day had saved the empire. The petition was referred, conformably to the law, to the executive power, and the petitioners, admitted to the sitting, were witnesses of the reciprocal assurances of harmony between the king and the legislative power.

The king did not decide on the decree of the department, precisely, as he says in his letter to the assembly, because he was personally interested in it. This was a serious error, for the assembly, passing, with reason, to the order of the day, that it might not deviate from the constitutional course, threw upon the executive power all the embarrassment of the decision. After the fusion which had just been made under the king's eyes, and which, for that very reason, ought not to be supposed futile and imaginary, a spontaneous and rigorous decision on his part, though very just, might have been considered by a mul-

titude of deluded men as a rupture of the peace sworn to by all. The best course would perhaps have been, without applying to the assembly, and applauding indeed the energy of the directory, to take off in a short time the suspension which it had pronounced, and by this sort of amnesty, which would have been only a consequence of the approximation of parties, to extinguish this torch of discord in the hands of the factions.

The pathetic address of the bishop of Lyons had penetrated the hearts of all. Almost all the members of the assembly indulged in the sentiments which it had inspired, and expressed them without hypocrisy and without reserve. Certainly, the spontaneous step of the king was a testimony no less sincere of his assent, and of his determination to concur in the restoration of internal peace. However, to profit by this favorable moment, it would have been necessary to agree on a new line of conduct, which should disarm the distrust of the several parties; it would have been necessary to make mutual sacrifices of views, of opinions, of prejudices, which could not be hoped either of the court, or of the republicans of the two shades of opinion. This result, had it been possible, would evidently have been the triumph of the constitutional party. But the opposite party had acquired too much strength, and had gone too far, to stop in its fatal career.

We had hardly a few hours' illusion; the Jacobins, out of doors, laying hold of the pretext of the suspension of the mayor of Paris, resumed their violent language, and two days afterwards, in the sitting of the 9th of July, the Girondins by the mouth of Brissot, reviving the debate on the dangers of the country, attacked more vehemently than ever the royal authority.

Brissot at the outset first made use of the oratorical precaution to which the occasion obliged him. Distinguishing between the sentiment of fraternity which ought to unite the friends of liberty and equality, from the union of conflicting opinions, "this fraternity," said he, "while it unites our hearts, cannot fetter our opinions. There, gentlemen, the voice of fraternity stops; our conscience belongs only to ourselves. It must be free, or we should have pledged that which can never be alienated, or else we should have betrayed the interests of the people." Having thus given himself ample scope, he divided into

three parts the longest speech which had yet been delivered in the legislative assembly; a complete treatise of the history and policy of the times, considered in a revolutionary point of view; an immense and curious performance, in which we regret to see an able pen disfigure facts without contradicting them, and pervert the principles of the constitution, so as to make them serve to destroy it, by forced inferences and sophistical interpretations. To state the dangers of the country, to characterise its causes, to point out the remedies, such was the division of his speech.

His picture of our external dangers, of the plan of the coalition, his hypothesis of the situation of France invaded by foreigners, were full of eloquence, of life, and of truths, which were unhappily prophetic. The detail of the internal dangers was but the necessary repetition of the complaints with which the tribune and the bar had not ceased to resound for ten months; complaints which were almost always produced in the chamber by those very persons by whom the disorders had been fomented or encouraged.

Proceeding to the remedies which he had to propose, in order to defeat what he called the great conspiracy of the executive power, Brissot seconded the motion proposed by Jean Debry and Condorcet, and added, "the constitution cannot go on except under a revolutionary king, or at least under a revolutionary ministry. If the king will not be revolutionary, the legislature owes it to the people to examine both the fact and what the constitution prescribes, when the fact exists. Thus the question ought to be considered, with respect to the head of the executive power, with respect to its agents, to the secret committee which may direct it, or to the party which supports it."

These measures, which the speaker had already indicated, were nothing less than the forfeiture of the king's power; but before he ventured to make the proposal in a positive manner, he endeavored to prove that it was legal, and flowed from the very terms of the constitution. Not stopping at the supposition which Vergniaud had laid down, he said, "I admire the truly eloquent picture drawn by M. Vergniaud of a counter-revolutionary king, but I would say that hypotheses are calculated only to encourage the guilty, to corrupt the people, and to lessen the strength of the assembly and that of the constitution. If the king is guilty, it must be frankly avowed: if he is not,

even the supposition must not be ventured. The constitution ensures the rights of the king, and points out his duties. There is besides a right which precedes that of all the constituted powers; it is that of the people: these powers are but its delegates; it is their sovereign. If then its delegates betray their trust, respect for the sovereignty of the people makes it the duty of the assembly at least to examine if the violation is real. Thus, gentlemen, if the picture drawn by M. Vergniaud is not hypothetical, if facts prove that the king has violated the constitution, if the people in their addresses raise their voices against him, the national assembly would be wanting to the people and the constitution, if it did not examine the facts, and the question of right, with the most scrupulous attention. And here, gentlemen, all capitulation with the executive power would be a crime; you have not the right to remit the penalty, if the crime has been committed: you are but the depositories of the noblest right of the people, that of judging the first public functionary.

"If the constitution offers you some vague or doubtful points, there is an infallible rule to interpret it in a constitutional manner; it is the safety of the people, it is the good of the people, for the constitution has not and cannot have any other basis, any other essence. Such, gentlemen, are the principles; you must examine the conduct of the king. The constitution says, that if the king retracts his oath, if he does not oppose by a formal act the enterprises undertaken in his name, he is presumed to have abdicated the royal authority."

Having come to this terrible conclusion, Brissot made the application of his doctrine.

"I demand, then, in the name of the people and for the sake of the king himself, who, if he has not violated the constitution, must desire that his conduct should undergo a rigorous examination—I demand, that as soon as you shall have proclaimed that the country is in danger, you discuss solemnly, and on a report of your extraordinary committee, whether the danger proceeds from the king, and that you examine the articles of the constitution which I have quoted."

The proposals of Brissot, drawn up in the form of a decree, were in substance the impeachment of the ministry, the forfeiture of the king, the dictatorship assigned to the

assembly, and the declaration of the danger of the country. The speech was ordered to be printed, and the galleries vehemently applauded. There was not in the bosom of the assembly, or without, the least trace of the impressions which had been produced by the bishop of Lyons. A succession of Jacobin petitioners appeared at the bar, they came to demand the reinstatement of the mayor and of the procurator of the commune, and that justice should be done them against the decree of the directory of the department, which, they said, had lost the public confidence. This petition, which was strongly supported by some members, was referred to the committee of twelve.

After this incident the ministers, conformably to the decree of the 8th of July, came all together to the assembly to give an account of the actual state of the kingdom with respect to its security at home and abroad; Chambonas only, the minister for foreign affairs, was confined to his bed by serious illness. Dejoly, the minister of justice, alone spoke: he declared in the name of all his colleagues that they could not submit to a joint responsibility, which neither the constitution nor any law imposed upon them. He proved, quoting the very text of the law, that the personal responsibility of each minister, within the limits of the functions of the department confided to him, could not be implicated by the debates in the council.

The minister then entered into the details of the state of affairs for each of the departments. What struck us the most in this vast picture was, with respect to the department of the interior, the passage which concerned the popular societies. He said that he could not conceal from the assembly, that political dissensions were no less active than religious fanaticism in disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, and that the societies of the friends of the constitution had often been the cause of violent excesses.

The state of the finances, that of the collection of the taxes, of the fabrication of assignats, of the administration of the forests, &c. were described with the same frankness, without dissembling the inadequacy of their resources, and without exaggerating the produce that might be expected from them.

The account given of the department of the marine and colonies was pretty satisfactory with respect to the *materiel* in the ports and the arsenal. We had still at that time

between sixty and seventy ships of the line, and at least as many frigates, which might be fitted for service; but the state of the crews was far from corresponding with this appearance of naval strength. The corps of officers had been disorganised by emigration, and in the expectation of laws which had been demanded of the assembly, it had not been possible to form it anew. The same was the case with the marines. The classes of the seamen had likewise been neglected. The minister, however, pointed out means to restore the navy, which a few years before had been so flourishing, and stated the efforts which had been made to preserve the elements of it.

Afflicting truths respecting the deplorable situation of the fine colony of St. Domingo were stated without reserve, and the minister acquainted the assembly with the measures and precautions which had been taken for the execution of the recent decrees relative to that colony, to maintain the tranquillity of the others, and to protect maritime commerce in the several seas.

The affairs of the war department more particularly attracted the attention of the assembly. The following are the principal results enumerated in this part of the report, at least such as appeared to me the most useful to be preserved, in order to understand the future debates on the subject. I had been made particularly acquainted with the report of the minister of war, Lajard, and I can certify its correctness.

The frontiers were threatened on several points by a mass of forces of about 200,000 men.

The first army in the Low Countries, the second in Luxemburg and the Brisgau, and the Prussian army on the Rhine, threatening to penetrate through the Electorates, formed the three great divisions of the enemy's troops.

Our effective force amounted to 271,000 men, as well troops of the line as the national guard, of which 7,400 were employed in the colonies.

The minister of justice had given an account of the affairs of his department on the preceding day. The minister of foreign affairs had transmitted to the diplomatic committee two memoirs concerning the political situation of the several European powers with respect to France.

The intention of the decree of the 8th of July, enjoining the ministers to give an account of the state of France,

both at home and abroad, having been thus fulfilled by this statement and by these communications, the minister Dejoly concluded his report in the following manner:—

"Gentlemen, after having given an account of the civil, political, and military situation of the kingdom, we find it our duty to declare to the assembly, that having accepted the ministry only in the spirit, and with the intention to do good, the moment when we can no longer do it is that in which we must renounce it. We have the honor to inform you that we have this morning tendered our resignation to the king."

In fact, the constitutional ministry, continually harassed by the predominant factions, and threatened with impeachment collectively, could no longer support its agents, and insure obedience to the inferior authorities, which were invaded or paralysed by the popular societies. In the assembly it had no support, except a loyal, though powerless minority. Lastly, its devotedness, its useless efforts to maintain the royal authority produced irritation, and threw on the person of the king the unpopularity of his ministry. Their resignation was an act of conscientious self-denial. As soon as they had left the assembly, Kock, reporter of the diplomatic committee, read the memorial which the minister of foreign affairs had deposited with the committee. It was the representation of the political situation of the several European powers, since the events of the revolution had broken the equilibrium, and had changed their natural relations either with each other, or with France. The several interests, the views, the actual disposition of each power, considered separately, or in their most probable combinations, were laid open with equal perspicuity and truth. I think it superfluous to insert this document, which almost all contemporary historians have properly quoted. as one that was best calculated to expose the intrigues with which all the cabinets were agitated at that time, as well as their perplexities and their resolutions.

The assembly, being sufficiently informed by the speeches of the members, and the reports of the ministers, closed the debate on the question itself, and turned its attention merely to the form of the declaration of the danger of the country; it was decided, on the motion of Herault de Séchelles, that the spontaneous act of the legislative body

should not be subject to the king's sanction; therefore, after having decreed that no time was to be lost, the president put on his hat and pronounced these words:—

"*Citizens, the country is in danger!*"

Yes, doubtless, the danger was imminent for all Frenchmen, but too certain for the unhappy prince, whose ruin, which was resolved upon, would lead to that of the constitution. The danger, however, was not yet inevitable, at least as respected the personal safety of the king and his family. Louis XVI had full time, and the hour was come for him to abandon the capital, governed by a faction, which had just disclosed its fatal projects, and to leave that palace where the royal majesty had been already profaned with impunity, and which was guarded by only a small number of troops, brave and faithful soldiers it is true, but foreigners, whom the factions had easily rendered suspected in the eyes of the deluded people.

In these awful circumstances the true friends of liberty and of the monarchical constitution wished that the king should, in concert with them, put himself in a situation to be sheltered from the storm which they had not been able to avert. The duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt proposed to transfer the royal residence to Rouen, and to take advantage of the good spirit manifested by all the inhabitants of Normandy as well as by those of the northern provinces. General Lafayette offered the king a still safer asylum, more worthy of the royal dignity, by urging him to repair to the army to take the command of it in person, and to lead it against the enemy, while the constituted authorities should gradually deliver themselves from the yoke of the Jacobins, and restore order and confidence, dispelling the delusion of the people by this magnanimous proof of the king's intentions. Every thing was prepared for the execution of this project, the secret of which had been entrusted to me, as well as to several of my friends. A great nnmber of the members of our side, about sixty, were ready to concur in it, and the majority of the assembly would have soon followed us.

General Lafayette, under the pretext of a reinforcement of cavalry to the army of the Moselle, had sent to Compiègne two regiments of chasseurs, commanded by Alexander Lameth. The king, without passing the limits prescribed by the constitution, might have in a few hours

reached Compiègne. He could not be followed by any organised force; all the rest out of the walls of Paris was but a contemptible band. Thus the royal family would be safe from any attempt, under the protection of the army; the king might have convoked the assembly in his new place of residence, he would have made known his just motives, he would have rallied all good citizens round him; lastly, his most devoted friends would have been obliged to come to him, and to seek in the French camp an asylum against persecution. This at least was under the circumstances the only means of saving the constitutional monarchy, and whatever events might have succeeded, was it not saving the country and liberty which were on the brink of a precipice?

We flattered ourselves in vain with attempting this perilous but only means of safety: nothing could overcome the repugnance of the king, and still more of the queen, to trust themselves to Lafayette. Nothing could change their resolution, not to venture on any extraordinary measure, and to resign themselves to the decrees of providence.

The memory of Louis XVI has been calumniated, by supposing that that unfortunate prince reckoned on the assistance of foreigners, and that he expected his deliverance from the probable success of an invasion; this is an absurdity. The affair of the 20th of June could not leave him any doubt of the fatal issue of such an event, the bare threat of which sufficed to ruin him. Inoffensive, mild, and religious, Louis XVI felt a horror of civil war. He thought that it was his duty to oppose to the enemies of the crown only passive courage. I have said elsewhere, and I am convinced, after all the testimony which I have been able to collect, that he had been obliged to fly with his family at the time of his journey to Varennes, only by being persuaded that when he had retired to a frontier town, without any connivance with foreigners, or with an armed party in the interior, he would be in an independent position, and free to accept or to refuse such or such an article of the constitution. It was a false calculation, and at all events an act of great imprudence, but it was also the error of a pure conscience. The same motives, the same prejudices, influenced the king on this occasion, and unhappily he was confirmed in his determination by his most intimate counsellors. The latter saw with satis-

faction the weakness of the constitutional party, and wished for its defeat; this party was in their eyes the true obstacle to the restoration of the royal authority; it was the enemy with which no compact should be ever made; their inconsiderate zeal despised every other danger, the most violent provoked an explosion.

Though we were well acquainted with these dispositions of the court, and the weak means of intrigue, corruption, and police which were employed to support them, we still flattered ourselves that we should be able to prevail over infatuated courtiers, who could not judge so well as ourselves of the extent and imminence of the danger. I hoped that the king would yield at length to the new entreaties of General Lafayette, but I was completely undeceived by the Count de Puységur, formerly minister of war, one of the most faithful and enlightened friends of Louis XVI. I had necessarily confided to his honorable friendship the secret, which was still profoundly kept, of the enterprise which we contemplated. He thought with me that it was the only remaining chance of saving the king; but he took from me all hope of success. "Never," said he, "will you induce the royal family to confide to Lafayette, a power resembling that of the ancient constables of the kingdom, and thus place their own fate and that of France in his hands. The queen opposes it absolutely; Madame Elizabeth objects from religious motives; Baron de Viomesnil, whose presumption and intrepidity you well know, undertakes with the Swiss guards alone, not only to defend the palace, but also to drive into the suburb all the insurgent mob, which, he says, might easily have been dispersed, if once vigorous measures had been adopted."

While the terrified court neglected our advice, rejected our aid, and gave itself up to rash counsels, the Jacobins were swelling their ranks with a great number of federalists, whom the popular societies had sent to Paris to be present at the fête of the 14th of July, and who were afterwards to go to the camp of Soissons. Their presence excited terror in the families of the citizens, and even in the assembly. The conspirators showed more insolence. The attempt of the 20th of June was celebrated by them as a first victory. They prepared a scandalous triumph for the faithless magistrate who had been the hero of it. The

suspension of the mayor, Pétion, which the directory of the department had so justly pronounced on the 6th of July, and which the king had confirmed on the 12th, was revoked on the 13th, by a decree of the legislative assembly. We were compelled to endure this manifest violation of the constitution. The impunity of this great crime was illegally proclaimed in the name of the law, and the judges who had prosecuted the investigation into it were accused of having neglected their duty.

The last mask was now thrown aside; the petitioners contended with each other in audacity and insolence, being encouraged by the applause of the galleries, which were chiefly filled by the federalists. The fermentation was extreme, and we had reason to fear that the 14th of July was the day intended for a great catastrophe. In spite of inauspicious forebodings, it passed over more happily than we had reason to expect. I shall not here describe this pretended fête, the melancholy anniversary of the first brilliant federation, at which the national character was manifested in all its energy, its attractions, and its splendor; when the purest sentiments of true patriotism, and sweet fraternity filled all French hearts; when people's minds were animated only with hopes of a happy futurity—hopes which were so soon and so cruelly disappointed. On the present occasion there were no bursts of that frank and unmixed joy which is truly French; no order in the crowd, attracted by idle curiosity. On the one hand was the delirium of ruffians vociferating "*Pétion or death!*"—on the other, anxiety and consternation.

The assembly having accompanied the king to the Champ-de-Mars, I was among the deputies who were the nearest to him when he proceeded to the eminence, on which a truncated column had been set up, instead of the altar of the country, doubtless to remove from the ceremony the religious character impressed on the federation of 1790. I admired the firm step and serene countenance of Louis XVI in the midst of the tumultuous throng of an immense multitude which slowly gave way to the efforts of the escort, which opened a passage for us. Cries of "*Pétion for ever!*" were uttered around us, but after the oath, which the king pronounced with a firm and elevated tone of voice, the cry of "Long live the king! long live the nation!" became general; and these

acclamations, by which he seemed to be deeply affected, were a pleasing but last illusion for this unhappy prince. We conducted him back to the queen and the royal family, to whom the sight of this melancholy solemnity had been, during its whole continuance, a subject of constant alarm.

The plan of the conspiracy formed by the Girondins had proved abortive. Their speakers, whose fatal eloquence had so greatly advanced the work of the destruction of the constitution, were now nothing more than the auxiliaries of the committee of insurrection in the Jacobin club. These were the chief directors of the great popular movement; the real tribunes, such as Danton, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, &c. The Girondins wished to decree the forfeiture of the crown, to concentrate in the assembly the exercise of all the powers, and thus, without commotion, without employing any means besides acts of the legislature, to lead, in fact, to their Utopia; that is to say, the establishment of a well-regulated republic, according to the lucubrations of Sieyes and Condorcet. But the Jacobins had no idea of such modifications. They treated this pretended moderation of the doctors of the Gironde as ambitious hypocrisy. They had great power of action, and were resolved to make use of it, to accomplish their designs. They had opened the abyss, and wished to precipitate into it, with one stroke, the throne and the monarchy. They already speculated on ridding themselves of the legislative assembly, and calling a national convention. Nothing, therefore, remained for the Girondins, but to serve and follow the Jacobins, while pretending to direct them, and this was what they did.

The irritation of the public mind had carried to the highest degree the perversion of all ideas of order; contempt of the constituted authorities, defiance of the laws were held in honor; but all this was not yet enough to cause the insurrection to break out. Leaders were required capable of conducting this multitude of deluded people; this species of fanatics, uniting talent and bravery to the blindest devotion in the execution of a great crime, is happily rare among civilised nations. The last shadow of a power which has been long revered, is always a great obstacle to be overcome. To excite the audacity of the most intrepid villains, and to encourage the most

timid to lay their sacrilegious hands upon the throne, it was necessary to get rid of its last defenders.

On the day after the federation, in the sitting of the 15th of July, Choudieu, under the specious pretext of speedily sending to the armies the reinforcements so urgently required by the generals, proposed immediately to send off the disposable troops which were in the capital. This motion was agreed to. M. Brunck, one of our party, having proposed that the Swiss, who according to the capitulations could not bear arms against Austria, should be excepted from this arrangement, Gensonné took occasion to call for an examination of the capitulations, and for the suppression of the office of colonel-general of the Swiss and the Grisons, which was held by the count d'Artois. The diplomatic committee had been previously instructed to make a report on this subject. Ramond, to whom the task had been confided, laid before the assembly, a few days afterwards, the drafts of four decrees. These he preceded by a very luminous historical account of the admission of the auxiliary Swiss troops into the service of France, and particularly to the guard of the king's person, from the year 1567 to our time. The reporter, quoting the capitulations successively concluded either with the several Cantons, or with the whole Helvetic confederation, developed views of the most profound policy respecting the motives and the interest of this pledge of alliance. He concluded by inviting the king to open negotiations for the renewal of the capitulations, founding them, however, on a complete conformity as regarded the composition and promotion in the Swiss and in the French troops.

Before the report of Ramond had been heard, count d'Affry, colonel of the regiment of Swiss guards, had written to the assembly, that in case the Swiss guard should be comprehended in the decree which determined that the troops of the line, in garrison at Paris, should be moved to the distance of thirty thousand toises, they might, if it was thought necessary, form two battalions of two-thirds of that regiment to employ them in the defence of the kingdom, but that one-third at least ought, by virtue of the confederations, to remain on duty about the king. He added, that the Helvetic body would much regret to see this service entirely abolished without its having been

consulted, and by a determination which would appear anticipated.

The assembly decreed that the minister of war should give orders to two battalions of the Swiss guards, to remove to the distance of 30,000 toises from the capital. Thus there remained only one battalion of the Swiss guards to do duty about the king. Scarcely had the Jacobins gained this advantage when they renewed their denunciations against general Lafayette. They demanded that the committee of twelve should immediately make its report, on the documents which had been referred to it. Lemontey, who had been ordered to make this report, treated the question in the first place as a principle which could not be contested; he acknowledged that a law ought to prohibit generals commanding armies, and all superior officers, from presenting petitions to the legislative body, either individually or collectively; but as no such law existed, he saw nothing reprehensible in the conduct of the general. Little satisfied with this solution, Bazire and his friends demanded the previous question on the proposed decree, and the impeachment of the general, but the examination of the preceding conduct of Lafayette was referred to the committee of twelve, on the motion of Dumolard, who announced beforehand that he would justify him in such a manner as to confound his enemies.

The impudence of the chiefs of the faction was even surpassed by that of their principal agents. On the following day, the 15th, Manuel, the procurator of the commune, dared to appear at the bar to explain and justify his guilty conduct on the 20th of June; he was received with the liveliest acclamations of the galleries.

"Legislators," said he, "the king by his security made an eulogium on the people, and asked himself for the cap of liberty which ought to be his crown.

"Legislators, did not your deputies, who were witnesses of this scene, declare to you themselves, that the king and the people were contented with each other? And on the following day, it is the same king who betrays, calumniates, and dishonors the same people by denouncing them to all other nations and to all other kings, and you did not rise with indignation. Had you not the majesty of the people to defend? could you fear to measure your strength with a king? It is you who ought to judge him."

If I recall here this fearful justification, it is because I think that such instances of the extreme excesses of licentiousness ought not to be buried in oblivion. They should be pointed out to posterity in the same manner as shoals, which have become famous by great shipwrecks, are pointed out to navigators. Manuel obtained the honors of the sitting.

Relying on the reception given by the assembly to these insolent declamations, the faction even proceeded to insult the royal family publicly and to their face. A group of federalists of the battalion of the Lower Charente, having assembled in the garden of the Tuileries, while the queen was walking there, affected to insult her as she passed, by mingling with patriotic songs, stanzas but too well known, such as the following:—

"Madame Veto avait promis
De faire egorger tout Paris," &c.

The keepers of the garden having forced this group to disperse, some of the federalists came to complain at the bar, and to demand that justice should be done on the servants of the court. They said, "they would have respected and bowed to the king, but the constitution does not speak of the queen; free men owe nothing to the king's wife. The king's wife is no more than any other woman." The federalists, like Manuel, obtained the honors of the sitting.

The most important proceedings of the assembly were frequently interrupted by such incidents, occasion for which was given in order to afford the galleries the spectacle of the violence of the discussions, and to maintain the popular ferment. Thus, while we were deliberating on the decree presented, in the name of the military committee, by Carnot, relative to the several means of recruiting the army—while we were discussing the great question of the military conscription, and fixing under other denominations the principle of it, which has since become so fertile in consequences, a deputation from the federalists of Marseilles appeared at the bar. The spokesman of this deputation, arguing on the declaration of the danger of the country, repeated in revolutionary language the calumnious imputations with which we were incessantly importuned; he exclaimed against treason, poured forth imprecations on

all the constituted authorities, against the commanders of the army, against the nobles who had taken refuge there, and concluded in the following terms:—"Fathers of the country, suspend provisionally the executive power in the person of the king; the safety of the state requires and commands this measure; impeach Lafayette; the constitution and the public duty order you to do so; decree the disbanding of the staffs of the military functionaries named by the king; dismiss and punish, according to the constitution, the directories of the departments and districts, which are combined with Lafayette and the court against public liberty; lastly, reconstitute the courts of justice."

The deputation also obtained the honors of the sitting. On the one hand, the reference of this petition to the committee of twelve was demanded, on the other the order of the day was called for. Girardin, indignant that such a motion should be taken into consideration, opposed the second proposal, and said that they could not pass to the order of the day on the disorganisation of the kingdom and on the crimes of the Jacobins; for that such was their horrible language. A great tumult arose; personal insults, threats, and even blows succeeded; in the end the assembly passed to the order of the day. This petition of the Marseillais, dictated by the Jacobins, was in fact the introduction of the plan meditated to ruin general Lafayette, by carrying a decree of impeachment against him. They had not been able to obtain this decree by hurrying away the majority of the assembly, because the general had in the centre, and among the independent members, as many friends as among us, and because the sincerity of his devotion to the cause of liberty could not even be suspected. The boldness and openness of the step he had taken after the 20th of June, had confirmed the esteem in which his character was held by all France, even in the eyes of those who thought that the step was unconstitutional. Lafayette had gained the affection of the soldiers, and the confidence of the authorities, and of all the inhabitants of the towns occupied by his troops. He had just been called to the command of the army on the northern frontier, and marshal Luckner was to have the chief command of the armies of the centre and the Rhine. The resources familiar to the faction, such as declamations and allegations, were not sufficient: it was necessary to find in the conduct of

Lafayette, if not proofs of his secret designs, at least appearances which might be criminated.

Dumouriez, who from the very beginning of hostilities had desired to compromise and ruin general Lafayette, and who was ambitious of obtaining the command-in-chief of the army of the north, was behind this intrigue, and conducted it. Marshal Luckner, who, as I have just said, was removed from the northern to the eastern frontier, had been summoned to Paris by the minister of war, to concert a plan of defensive operations, on that part of the frontier which was more immediately threatened. The Girondins had demanded, and the assembly had decreed, that the marshal should be invited to come to the assembly, and give an account of the orders which he had received and given, for the operations of the campaign up to this day, and at the same time to present a statement of what was necessary to ensure the success of the future operations. Luckner, as soon as he arrived at Paris, wrote to the president that he was ready to comply with the decree. He observed only that in his capacity as general of an army, he had no account to give except to the king, his supreme chief, and to the minister of war, and that besides, his account might be found, either in his correspondence, or in the registers of his staff. He added that these several objects, which were purely military, were intimately connected with the subsequent operations of the campaign, respecting which prudence and his duty required him to observe secrecy.

The marshal added to his letter several notes, which he had drawn up, and which related to the decree, which the assembly might pass for the amelioration of the army. Lastly, he offered to the assembly to communicate to it in such a manner as it should judge to be constitutional, and with due reserve, the more particular details which he had already laid before the king.

The notes, added to Luckner's letter, and which related entirely to the means of recruiting the army, were sent to the military committee; it was also agreed that the marshal should repair to the committee of twelve, united with the military committee, to confer on those subjects, the public communication of which appeared to him to be inconvenient.

This conference took place on the following day, the

18th. I was there as a member, and I believe as president of the military committee. Marshal Luckner came with one of his aides-de-camp, Mathieu de Montmorency. Several questions were addressed to him respecting the operations and movements of the troops, which he had concerted with general Lafayette. Luckner, who expressed himself with difficulty in French, repeated at first what he had set down in his official reports. He was interrogated more positively by Guadet on the question,—whether he had been acquainted with the resolution of M. de Lafayette to go to Paris; whether that step had his approbation, and whether the orders for movements given to the army, as well by him as by general Lafayette, were not combined with the project of carrying off the king and protecting his retreat. The marshal appeared to be embarrassed and answered vaguely. I knew that general Lafayette had given no order, which had not been communicated to the marshal; I could not doubt that the secret of making the king leave Paris had beeen confided to him, and I was astonished at the weakness of Luckner's answers and the timidity of his countenance. I was still more surprised, when, being warmly pressed by those who were endeavoring to extort from him some avowal, which might implicate his colleague, he answered, that "he did not meddle with all those intrigues," and contented himself with justifying, according to the numerical force of the enemy's troops, and their concentration on such or such a point, the defensive measures, which he had concerted with general Lafayette.

I must here make a very important remark, namely, that general Lafayette had perfectly combined the position of his troops, with the possibility of detaching a corps of cavalry to meet the king in two forced marches; and if Louis XVI should decide on seeking his safety and that of his crown among the brave soldiers of the national army, the left wing of Lafayette would protect this enterprise without changing its position, and without enabling the enemy to derive the slightest advantage from it.

The inconsiderate answer of the marshal, and the blame which it cast on the political actions of his colleague, were more than an inadvertency, and appeared like a breach of faith. The enemies of Lafayette could not fail to lay hold of it, but they tried in vain to obtain from the marshal any

positive explanation. I accompanied Luckner when he left this sitting of the United committees, and when we were in the court-yard of the Feuillants, Mathieu de Montmorency said to him in my presence, "After what has just passed I beg the marshal to excuse me in future from doing the duty of his aid-de-camp."

The Girondins surrounded marshal Luckner during the three days which he spent at Paris. They abused the inexperience of the old warrior in political matters, and ascribed to him speeches which he hastened to disavow in his correspondence with general Lafayette when he left the capital.

Meantime Dumouriez, who, during his administration, had taken with so high a hand the direction of the war, endured with impatience being kept in an inferior rank. As soon as he arrived at the army of the north, he had received from Luckner the command of the left wing. The marshal, when he quitted the northern frontier, had ordered him to follow him with the six battalions and the cavalry which were under his command in the camp of Maulde, and to be at Metz by the 20th of July. Dumouriez, who was to be relieved by the left wing of general la Fayette, would neither obey the order of the marshal, nor give up the position which he occupied. Still infatuated with his project of invasion and insurrection in Belgium, and not doubting, besides, that la Fayette would soon be borne away by the revolutionary torrent, he took it into his head to consider himself as commander-in-chief; *ad interim*, of the army of the north, which was reduced to six battalions of infantry and six squadrons of cavalry, and in this character, which he assumed to himself, without taking any account of the general measures adopted by the government, he opened a direct correspondence with the assembly.

Conformably to my proposals, supported by several of my friends, among others by Dumolard, the assembly passed to the order of the day on the reference of the despatches of Dumouriez to the committee, and decreed that the executive power should be bound to give an account of the cause of the movement of the armies. Immediately afterwards Muraire, in the name of the committee of twelve, presented his report on the conduct of la Fayette. To say the truth, he did but repeat that of Lemontey, as

to the necessity of prohibiting by a law, the generals commanding armies, and chiefs of corps from addressing petitions to the legislative body. But as the law could not have a retrospective power, and as it would be necessary to judge of the intentions of general la Fayette, and to criminate an act, which was lawful for him as a citizen, the reporter moved, that the assembly should discuss the propose decreed on the general question, and pass to the order of the day on the particular question.

Before the debate commenced on a subject which was so important on account of its consequences, the opinion of the three fractions of the assembly manifested itself, such as it had been from the beginning of the session. On our part, we supported the report of Muraire; we wished for the order of the day, purely aud simply without any motives assigned; this was tacitly approving the proceedings of general la Fayette. The Jacobins and the auxiliaries of the Gironde demanded nothing less than the decree of impeachment. The inert mass of the independents, rejecting both, proposed to blame the general, and to pardon him on account of his previous services. Guadet first ascended the tribune to give an account, in the name of the extraordinary committee, of the conference with Luckner. He said, that the means of recruiting, and the improvements, which the marshal advised, were, in substance, the same as the assembly had already decreed. He praised the army, and gave a most satisfactory view of its resources and good administration. As for the cause of the late movements, and of the marches and counter-marches of the corps of the army, Guadet did not confine himself to a repetition of the equivocal expressions which Luckner had used; he extended the meaning of them so far as to make the marshal say, "that he had seen the king, and had declared to him, that the army was faithful to its oaths, and would be so, even so far as to abandon himself, if he should endeavor to overthrow the constitution." The speaker concluded with this phrase, artfully prepared, to excite uncertainty and aggravate suspicion:—

"These, gentlemen, are the only details which we are permitted to give you, and you will doubtless draw from them the same inference as we do; namely, that if the marshal cannot unravel the intrigues which surround him,

if, as he has said himself, on the subject of his last letter, he ill-understands how to make phrases, and that he is obliged on this point to depend on his aides-de-camp, he will at least know how to beat our enemies, and to defend the cause which he has so generously adopted."

Delaunay d'Angers then opened the debate, by demanding the previous question on the projects of the committee. He found that the violation of the constitution was manifest, and that the existing legislation was sufficient to authorise an impeachment. He supported his arguments by all the calumnious suppositions, with which the tribune had continually resounded against general Lafayette. He affirmed the connivance of his friends with the foreign enemies; he mentioned by name the principal officers of the staff of the army. "There," said he, "is the evil genius which fetters our operations, which chains the valor of our warriors; it is there that the torches are kindled which burnt the suburbs of Courtray."

An exaggerated panegyric on the talents and patriotism of the old Prussian partisan, the brave marshal Luckner, and the names of traitor, of base deserter, lavished on general Lafayette, equally called forth the applause of the galleries. Notwithstanding the warnings and the vain threats of the president Aubert Dubayet, the speaker was incessantly interrupted by new acclamations, and the Coryphœi of the faction were seen to give, from their places, the signals agreed upon, to their faithful auxiliaries. The speaker, after a peroration worthy of his exordium, proposed two decrees; first, the act of impeachment; secondly, a law against every officer from the general to the lieutenant-colonel, who, without leave, without a cause recognised to be lawful, should quit his post, even for a time. The proposal to print Delaunay's speech, though supported by the cries of the galleries, was rejected by a considerable majority.

M. Limousin, one of my friends, made an energetic reply to the speech of Delaunay. He was hissed by the galleries, and when the president desired to turn out the federalists, who uttered insults and threats, his orders were despised. The officers whom he sent were driven back, and there were members in the assembly itself, who maintained that these disturbers were good citizens. Lasource ascended the tribune, and began with these words:—"I

come to overthrow an idol." The sitting broke up in confusion. The debate being resumed on the following day, thus Lasource continued:—"I come to overthrow an idol, which has long since been worshipped. I should eternally reproach myself for having been the admirer of the most perfidious of men, if I did not find consolation in thinking that the publicity of my opinion will excuse the error in which I have too long persisted."

The speech of Lasource corresponded with this insulting opening. He surpassed Delaunay d'Angers, repeating with more vehemence the same arguments, with bitter irony and artful eloquence. But the more he exerted himself, by quoting the expressions of the petition, to pervert its meaning and to blame its object, the more did he justify in the eyes of all honest and sincere men the generous act of Lafayette.

Dumolard had undertaken to reply to the speech of Lasource; he first stated the faults imputed to the general; he examined and justified his conduct, both in a military and in a political point of view. Though frequently interrupted by hootings and sarcasms, he firmly proceeded in his powerful reasoning. According to him, Lafayette, as general, might with the authority of the king, and even with that of the minister only, come to Paris to confer on the situation and the operations of his army. As for his political conduct, he had a right, as well as all other citizens, to present a petition to the legislative body, not in the name of the army collectively, but as an individual. The development of these assertions was received with murmurs, immoderate laughter, and the ironical applauses of the minority of the assembly. But when the speaker unfolded the picture of the secret intrigues, of the political crimes of the faction, which was dissolving all the bonds of society; when he characterised the spirit of the chiefs and of the subaltern agents; when he spoke of the corruption of opinion and of hired calumniators, a violent storm broke out in the galleries. Dumolard, personally threatened, courageously braved this tempest of insult, and concluded his speech with a vehement appeal to the people and to the national guards.

The proposals of the committee, and the little success which the motion for an impeachment, applauded only by the galleries, had hitherto met with, made the party fear

that it would fail in this attack. The Girondins thought of a new means to corroborate the accusation, and Lasource, at the end of his speech, declared that general Lafayette, through the medium of his friend, colonel Bureau de Puzy, of the engineers, and one of the most distinguished members of the constituent assembly, had proposed to Marshal Luckner to bring the armies to Paris. Guadet supported this new denunciation by reading a note, which he said he had drawn up from a conversation which he had had with Marshal Luckner the day before, at the residence of the Bishop of Paris, and which was attested by some other deputies of the Gironde who were present. Girardin called on Guadet to sign this document, and to deposit it on the table. This incident gave occasion to a warm debate, during which we were menaced by some groups of people. Pétion, the mayor, affected to set the assembly at ease, which gained him a round of applause from his friends and the galleries.

We insisted that without mixing up the new denunciation of Lasource with the main object of the report of the committee, the assembly should vote on the principal question. Our adversaries, on the contrary, desired to finish the matter at once, and to carry the decree of the impeachment of Lafayette, as they had done in the case of the unhappy Delessart. We were only able to obtain the previous question, and the adjournment of the whole, till the facts should be verified.

The Girondins had reckoned on an easy triumph. They were astonished at not having been able to prevail on the mass of the independents, and carry the decree of impeachment against general Lafayette during the sitting. They were not contented with his having failed in his noble enterprise; it was necessary for them to overthrow this last support of the constitutional party, to seize a second time on power by violence and terror. They promised the king to calm the popular fury which they had excited, if he would wholly give himself up to their counsels; that if he persisted in disdaining them, they would deliver him to the Jacobins, allow sedition to break out, proclaim the republic, and come forward as the only leaders capable of governing. Irritated at meeting, in the court and in the assembly, with obstacles which they thought they had

removed, the Girondins, having no longer a choice of means, resolved to hasten the crisis.

Dumouriez, who, as I have said above, pursued this double intrigue between the Girondins, and the leaders of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and who had already outflanked them, threw off the mask by refusing to obey Lafayette, his commander-in-chief.

Our situation became every day more difficult. I thought it so dangerous for some among us, that I induced my mother-in-law to retire to Havre with my wife and two daughters. I was thus more free, and more at ease amidst the storm. My father-in-law remained alone in Paris, and I ceased to reside in his house. The threats and savage cries of the Jacobins interrupted our repose almost every night.

The conspirators no longer made any mystery of their preparations for the insurrection. Thus Choudieu, in the sitting of the 22d of July, proposed not only to continue to pay thirty sous a day to all the federalists, who had been invited to Paris, and who were to be united to the camp of Soissons, but likewise to form them into battalions of national guards. I strongly opposed this proposal, the intention of which was but too manifest, and on this occasion also I was supported by the majority. The assembly decreed that the federalists, who remained at Paris, should be paid individually, and sent as soon as possible to Soissons. This was a wise measure, but it was certain that the municipality would elude the execution of it.

We had foreseen from the time when war was declared, that, in whatever manner the operations were directed, pretexts would certainly be found to shake the confidence of the troops in the generals who should remain faithful to the constitutional government. Though I have already indicated the plan concerted between us and general Lafayette, I think it necessary to give here a summary of its principal features, in order clearly to show the circumstances which opposed its execution, and the last efforts which the friends of the general could properly make to support him by imitating his noble devotedness. Lajard, the minister of war, conformably to the decree which enjoined him to give the assembly an account of the last movements of the troops, in order to effect a new distribution of them, as well as to fix the limits of the commands

on the north, centre, and eastern frontiers, laid before the assembly a very clear statement of the motions of the armies. This was the last act of his administration, wherein he had shown the patriotism, talent and firmness, of which he had already given proofs in the functions of major-general of the national guard, a post in which he had justified, under the most trying circumstances, the choice of general Lafayette. Lajard judged that the prejudices against him, on account of the confidence of his former general, could not but injure the latter, as well as the king's government; disgusted also by the intrigues of the courtiers, and their fatal counsels, he resigned his office a few days after he had made this last report. He developed in it the general plan of defence, and proved the necessity of combining the operations of the army of the centre with those of the army of the Rhine. The command of these two armies had been confided to marshal Luckner, and that of the army of the north to general Lafayette.

General Dumouriez was to be under the command of general Luckner, and general Arthur Dillon was to take his place and command the left wing of the army of the north, from Dunkirk to Givet; while the right wing of that army (that of general Lafayette) extended as far as Montmedy, to be able to act in concert with the left wing of Luckner, on the points most threatened by the Prussian army. General Lafayette had in his hands multiplied proofs of all that general Dumouriez had done to bring him into difficulties at the time of the first expedition against Namur, Mons, and Tournay.

It was, therefore, very natural and very prudent not to leave Dumouriez under the command of a general-in-chief, who, notwithstanding the talents of that officer, could not place any confidence in him. Dumouriez ventured to disobey, only because he was certain of being supported by the party of the Gironde and the Jacobins. I thought that it was important to disclose his intrigues; I resolved to denounce them, on the strength of the proofs which I had collected, and I engaged to the assembly to do so. My principal object was fully to justify general Lafayette in a military point of view, from the calumnious suspicion which had been propagated, of his having formed a plan to abandon the defence of the frontier, reckoning

on a suspension of operations, agreed on with the enemy, to march with his army against Paris.

No; Lafayette never formed such a design, but without quitting his position, without changing his plan of defensive operations, it had been easy for him to bring some troops of cavalry to Compiegne, there to receive the king, and protect his retreat. If that unhappy prince had consented to intrust himself for once to the friends of liberty, and to the arms of constitutional patriots, he would have preserved his crown from the enemies conspired against it at home, and from the false friends, who ruined him abroad, by bringing him the fatal assistance of foreigners.

The debate on the dangers of the country had been interrupted by this incident of the impeachment of general Lafayette. This debate, which served as a ground-work for the most furious declamations, was resumed with fresh ardor on the motion made by Lacroix. Some members on the same side seconded him, recapitulating in a confused manner all the complaints which it had been possible to accumulate, and ascribing to the executive power the too certain effects of the system of destruction followed by the factions, and all the calamities which they alone had brought upon France. In the midst of these vague imputations, Lasource reduced the questions to be examined to a more precise form, and the assembly adopted them in the following terms:—"What are the evils of the country? What are the causes of them? Are the means hitherto employed sufficient, after the obstacles which the assembly meets with? Where shall extraordinary means be found, and what are these means?"

It was easy to foresee how this question would be decided. Before the chamber began to deliberate, a federalist deputation came to the bar to dictate to the assembly, in the following terms, the resolutions which it ought to take:—"Can you yet be ignorant of the cause of our evils, or of the remedies? Well, legislators! we, citizens of the eighty-three departments, we, whom love of liberty alone has united here; we, who are supported by the deliberate and strongly declared opinion of all the French, point out to you this remedy: we tell you that the source of our evils is in the abuse which the chief of the executive power has made of his authority; that it is also in the staffs of the army, in a great part of the directories of the

departments and districts, and in the tribunals. We tell you, further, with the frankness of a free people, and which keeps itself closely banded to defend its rights, that there is a party in your assembly * * * * Deliberate, without interrupting the sitting, on the only means of remedying our evils; suspend the executive power, as it was last year; by that you strike at the root of them all. The constitution does not speak of the forfeiture of the crown; but to declare that the king has forfeited the throne; he must be tried, and to try him, the king must certainly be suspended for a time. Convoke the primary assemblies, in order to know the wishes of the people respecting the convocation of a national convention, to deliberate on the pretended constitutional articles relative to the executive power. There is not an hour, a moment to be lost."

Lafont Ladébat, one of our party, who was then president, replied to the petitioners, that the assembly would inquire into the subject of the petition, and that it would find in the constitution * * * " At this one word, as if he had uttered a blasphemy, he was violently interrupted by the revolutionary party, and hooted by the galleries. We opposed with all our might the reference of this petition to the committee of twelve, which our adversaries vehemently demanded. As the agitation continued, and the independents appeared inclined to join us, in order to hinder the social compact from being annihilated at a blow, Vergniaud hastened to propose the order of the day, which he however supported in an equivocal manner.

It is remarkable that at this time, when the anarchists had already obtained so many advantages that there was scarcely any room to doubt of their dreadful triumph, Lafont Ladébat, one of our most faithful friends, should have been appointed president. It is because the majority of this assembly was still sound, but it did not show itself, except by the ballot on the choice of individuals; and the same men, who from a sentiment of justice and shame, obeyed the voice of conscience, could not bear the trial of the personal dangers, to which they were exposed by the menaces of the factions, when it was necessary to vote openly.

Thus it was that Lafont Ladébat, the president, was called to order, for having himself very justly applied this censure to the opinion pronounced by Chabot. The latter

maintained that the king might be considered to have abdicated, and that even if the executive power should come from the examination of its acts as white as snow, the French people still had a right to change the constitution.

In the sitting of the 26th July, it came to my turn to undergo an equally severe trial, when I opposed the motion to appoint new generals and new superior officers to the command of the national army, and to expel all the former nobles, who held commissions in the troops of the line. As I attempted to oppose these attempts at disorganisation, I was overwhelmed with murmurs, and could scarcely finish delivering my opinion on the organisation and the command of the national guards, who were called into actual service.

In proportion as the time for the issue approached, there appeared between the fractions of the revolutionary party less unanimity respecting the violent measures in which the Jacobins and Girondins had hitherto concurred. The Girondins did not wish to change the form of government, except by modifications, and an appearance of legality, which would deliver the power into their hands, being well convinced that they themselves alone were capable of establishing a new system, and that their ardent rivals, sharing in this conviction, were ready to leave to them the direction of affairs. But the Jacobins in the assembly, and still more those without, were beginning to shake off the yoke of these pretended dictators. They desired a sudden overthrow of the constitution, a general confusion, and had no fixed plan for the future. This germ of division, which we shall see so rapidly develope itself after the catastrophe, was laid open in the draught of a message to the king, proposed by Guadet in the name of the extraordinary committee in the sitting of the 26th of July; and still more by the crafty reflections with which Brissot seconded this proposal. Guadet addressed the king, in words to the following effect:—"The French people sees its frontiers invaded, its territory threatened;—its blood has been spilt by the sword of the soldiers of despotism;—from one end of the kingdom to the other, priests, nobles, and factious men disturb the repose of the citizens, and all boast of the title of your defenders. By what fatality are we obliged to doubt whether these enemies of France

serve you, or betray you? In this moment of danger you may do much, you may do every thing for the safety of the empire." After this exordium, the speaker called to mind the crime, which in the eyes of the Gironde was unpardonable, of having dismissed the Roland administration, and of having resisted their injunctions.

"You complain, sire, of the distrust of the people, and what have you done to remove it? The families of the rebels of Coblentz fill your palace. Do you wish, sire, to regain the confidence of the citizens? it is for you to give the example; let the abode of the king of a free nation no longer present the appearance of a fortress, threatened by the enemy. You are desired to consider as a project formed to overturn the throne, and to endanger the constitution, the indignation of a free people, which has thought that it saw in the condition of our armies, and in the choice of your ministers, the criminal idea of modifying this constitution, of humbling before foreign kings the throne on which the nation has placed you. You may yet save the country, and your crown with it: venture at length to resolve, that the names of your ministers, and of the men who surround you, shall invite the public confidence; let every thing in your private actions, in the energy and activity of your council, announce that the nation, the representatives, and yourself, have but oue will, but one wish, that of liberty. The nation alone will doubtless well know how to defend and preserve its liberty; but it asks you, sire, for the last time, to join with it to defend the constitntion and the throne."

This draft of a message was a kind of ultimatum of the party of the Gironde. But in thus treating on equal terms with the executive power, the party deceived itself with respect to the weight of its influence. The return to the ministry would certainly not have allayed the storm. Brissot himself pointing out, with perfidy, the means of proceeding to the change of the constitution by the very forms which it had itself established, was listened to with impatience by the galleries, and when, as a kind of catechism, by way of question and answer, he stated the heads of accusation, he was hissed, merely because he recommended not to shock public opinion, and to act with equal circumspection and severity; he, however, moved "that the extraordinary committee should be in-

structed to examine the acts which might lead to the forfeiture of the throne, and if these acts had been committed by the king, &c."

Meantime the contempt of the fundamental laws thus professed from the tribune, increased every day the audacity of the conspirators. Every speech, every legislative measure, was a new pledge of impunity for them. The government, being deprived of all power, the whole community was given up to them without means of defence. The minister of justice in vain called for a law, to restrain the monstrous excesses of the press. It was particularly against General Lafayette that this system of defamation, and these incessant attacks were directed. He was nobly defended by the chief of his staff, his friend Bureau de Puzy, whom a decree of the assembly had summoned to the bar, at which he appeared in the sitting of the 29th of July. The speech which he delivered there is one of the most commendable historical documents of that period, and undoubtedly one of the most instructive, not only to re-establish the truth of the facts, but also to point out to public men, the snares which malevolence may at all times spread for their good faith and their patriotism. In concluding his address he defied his calumniators to resist the truths which he had just declared: "Without any arms but truth," said he, "I will attack them, and after having stripped them of the hypocritical garb of probity and patriotism, under which they disguise themselves, I will deliver them naked in all their deformity to the indignation of honest men."

This courageous declaration was honored with our warmest applauses, with the invectives of the Jacobin party, and the hisses of the galleries. Bureau de Puzy, being admitted to the honors of the sitting, heard the virulent replies of Lasource and Guadet. The first endeavored to prove that the justification of the person inculpated was an implied avowal of the treason of which his general and himself were accused. He required that the speeches and the documents should be printed, and referred to the committee, and engaged to place before the assembly indubitable proofs of the treachery of general Lafayette. Guadet, foaming with rage, and wielding the arm of irony, with which he was so familiar, thanked Bureau in the name of the assembly. We exclaimed against this ex-

pression. "Well, then," said he, "in the name of the nation." Our indignation manifested itself with more vehemence. "I will allay this storm," said he; "I thank him in the name of the friends of liberty." What friends! What liberty!

Vaublanc, after having refuted this unconstitutional assertion of the Girondin speakers, supported the reference to the committee, which was unanimously adopted.

To these documents was added, in the following sitting, a letter from Lückner, addressed to the assembly, in which the marshal formally contradicted the facts upon which the denunciation against Lafayette had been founded. He declared that that general had never proposed to him, either directly or indirectly, to march against Paris; he repelled these odious calumnies; he ascribed to his slender knowledge of the French language the false inferences which had been drawn from his conversations. He conjured the assembly to put an end to the dissensions which were so injurious to the defence of the country, and so favorable to the enemy. But all these acts of courage and generosity were but trifling obstacles to the projects of the factious; their impatience was irritated by them, and their audacity was encouraged by the certainty of impunity.

On the 30th of July, five hundred federalists of Marseilles, whose assembling and march to Paris had been announced for these two months, entered the capital in the middle of the day, by the Faubourg Saint Antoine. Santerre, who went to meet them, conducted them to the Champs-Elysées, where he had caused the banquet to be prepared. They had no arms but their sabres. As they passed through the city, they insulted all those persons who, according to the custom, established since the revolution 1789, wore in their hats cockades of tri-colored riband, tore them off, and obliged them to take others, which were made of flannel, similar to those which they wore themselves. On that same day, by an unfortunate coincidence, which certainly could not have been foreseen, there was a meeting of some of the national guards in the Champs-Elysées. They certainly were not of the royalist party, as the Jacobins asserted, and as some histories have recorded; but merely a handful of citizens, who, in the midst of the general stupor, were devoted to the preservation of order—a last and vain effort to allay the storm.

After the morning sitting I had gone to dine with Beaumarchais, and had seen this horde of brigands pass along the Boulevard. Notice was given me of what was passing in the Champs-Elysées. I knew that my brother-in-law Delarue, aid-de-camp to general Lafayette, and another of my relations, Poncet, were at the meeting of the national guards. I did not doubt that they had been present at this fatal collision. In fact, both these brave young men had received sabre wounds, and with some others who had escaped from this unequal combat they had taken refuge in the Tuileries. I had come to Beaumarchais with my saddle-horses, and hastened to repair to the assembly. I was stopped on the Boulevard des Italiens, by certain officers of the battalion of the Petits-Pères, some of whom had been in the Champs-Elysées. They related to me what had passed there, and the murder of the brave Duhamel, lieutenant of the grenadiers. The battalion of the Petits-Pères was at that moment assembling in front of the Favart Theatre, where it was afterwards joined by the battalion of the Filles-Saint Thomas. Indignant at these excesses, and too plainly foreseeing the fatal consequences which they would produce, if they were not speedily checked, I proposed to these brave comrades, who trembled with shame and rage at having been surprised, to go to the coffee-house in the Rue St. Florentin, and fetch the dead body of the unfortunate Duhamel, to carry it to the bar of the assembly, and to leave to me the care of demanding vengeance in the name of the national guard of Paris. "Perhaps," said I, "it is the only means to rouse the public spirit, and to awe the ruffians who are come to kindle civil war." They promised to do so, and I proceeded to the assembly to wait for them, confiding only to my friend Theodore Lameth the act of despair which I had advised, and the advantage which I thought we might derive from this unexpected scene. But, instead of seeing it commence by this theatrical stroke, we saw only a group of national guards appear, who presented a petition, in which they related the facts, the attack of five hundred Marseillais on the national guard, who were not more than forty in number, the assassination of their comrade Duhamel, and demanded justice. The Revolutionists loudly called for the order of the day, and this cry was repeated by the galleries in an uproar. The national

guard, who were admitted to the sitting, were soon succeeded at the bar by other petitioners, who, distorting the facts, indulged in the most outrageous declamations against the Parisians, and were furiously applauded by the galleries. A pretended chasseur of the national guard, who had doubtless been before the Favart theatre, said, "I inform the assembly that a dead body is to be brought here; you will be told that the individual was killed by the Marseillais, but those who bring it are the same who wanted to begin a counter-revolution."

Several speakers, some of whom said that they had been witnesses of the engagement between the Marseillais and the few national guards, made declarations entirely in favor of the Marseillais. Grangeneuve affirmed that he had heard an officer of the national guard say, that if the assembly did not do justice, they would revenge themselves, and that between that and three o'clock in the morning, there would not be a single Marseillais at Paris. The assembly decreed that this officer should be immediately summoned to the bar, but he was not to be found, as might be easily foreseen, considering the little credit which the author of the denunciation deserved. The only result was the reference of the petitions to the committee of twenty-one, and with respect to the main point of the affair, to the courts of justice. The sitting having been closed, I thought, with my friend Theodore Lameth, that we should render a great service to our country, if we could realise the false supposition which Grangeneuve had made. We proceeded to the place du Théâtre Favart, and reproached the national guard, who surrounded us, and particularly the commander Tassin, who afterwards perished on the scaffold, for not having done what I had agreed upon with some of them. "It is still time," said I; "we may do ourselves the justice which is refused us. You have here two pieces of cannon and more than 600 men; let us go and attack the Marseillais in the Rue Vert, where they are quartered. We shall surprise them, fatigued with murder and confusion, and almost all drunk. You will save the city of Paris, you will prevent great misfortunes befalling yourselves and your families." We could not move them. Tassin demanded a legal investigation. To insist any longer would have been useless temerity. We retired full of vexation, and overwhelmed with grief.

However, the resentment at the violence committed by the Marseillais, the terror which they inspired in the great majority of peaceable citizens, raised for some moments the courage and good spirit of the national guard. This movement took place principally in those battalions and districts where the efforts which had been made to injure the first organisation, by the incorporation of men, whose rank in society afforded no security for their good conduct, had not yet been entirely successful. A deputation of several battalions presented to the assembly a very energetic petition to obtain the dismissal of the Marseillais. "Ought we," said they, "to abandon our property and our existence? Ought we, under the government of the constitution, to expect the horrors of civil war? Must we thus remind you that it is to our courage that the constituent assembly confided the constitution? Legislators, the heroism of patience and fraternity, of which the national guard has not ceased to set the example since the revolution, may have its limits. We require that the Marseillais be sent away."

Almost at the same time the Marseilles federalists on their part, supported by the majority, which the silence of a great number of the members of the centre assured to the Girondins and the Jacobins united, demanded the dismissal of the staff of the national guard, that is to say, the dissolution of this civil force. The extraordinary committee, to which all these petitions were referred, made, through Guadet, a report, in which, under the false appearance of impartiality, the balance inclined to the part of the federalists. According to preceding decrees they were to go to the camp at Soissons, where 8000 federalists were already assembled. There was no other pretext for keeping the Marseillais any longer at Paris, but the want of camp equipage and provisions, about which a great noise was made, according to the official information and private letters. This was a sufficient pretext to impute culpable negligence to the minister Abancourt and the war-office. Lasource proposed a decree of accusation against him, and the penalty of death. An attempt was even made to go further back, and to include in the same accusation the late minister, Lajard. This extravagant proposal gave a false appearance of moderation to the motion of Guadet, who, in order to gain time, contented

himself with getting the question adjourned till three commissioners, chosen from among the assembly, should have verified the state of things, and have given an account of it.* The commissioners who were appointed by ballot were Gasparin, Lacombe Saint Michel, and Carnot the elder, the first and memorable example of the usurpation of the executive power by the legislature.

The remains of a good spirit among the national guard, and especially in the chosen companies, alarmed the factions. They applied themselves to the removal of this last obstacle. They made use of a means which was very deceitful, but which, in the state of confusion and disorder of the masses, had but too much effect on the deluded people. They caused a petition to be presented by one section, that of Mauconseil, to demand the suppression of the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, affirming that such was the general wish of all the sections.

After this new signal for disorder, a deputation of the Marseillais appeared at the bar and dared to demand the dethronement of the king. They mingled with their insulting denunciations a horrible apology for their excesses, and for the assassination of Duhamel. These atrocities were applauded by the galleries, and the honors of the sitting were given to these audacious banditti.

I had obtained leave to speak, to make several reports in the name of the military committee; and after having performed that duty, I took the opportunity to fulfil the engagement which I had entered into, to denounce to the assembly, as the true cause of the dangers of the country, the conduct and the policy of general Dumouriez during and since his ministry, which I considered as very criminal.

I was interrupted by murmurs of a part of the assembly and by the galleries. I replied with warmth to the interruption; I protested in vain against this violence. My friends required that the speech should be printed. The question was put and rejected. It was decreed that I should lay my discourse, and all the documents in support of it, on the table, and that the whole should be sent to the committee of twelve, to make a report upon it.

It was on this same day, the 3d of August, that we were made acquainted with the celebrated manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick;—the most violent, the most mad

and impolitic act, which pride and ignorance had ever dictated; a truly fratricide and barbarous act of the French emigrant princes towards King Louis XVI and his family. In the state of fermentation in which France, and especially the capital, had been since the declaration of war, to make an appeal to the minority, hostile to the revolution; to consider it as the sound part of the nation; to appear as an auxiliary in the civil war, was evidently implicating the king, accusing him of being an accomplice and justifying the calumnies which the constitutional party had always contradicted. In fact, it was calling to the defence of the territory all those who had French hearts. It has been said, and repeated upon vague conjectures, and without a single proof having been brought, that Louis XVI had drawn up and sent to the enemy by secret agents a very different draft of a manifesto. I have never seen, never heard anything which could give me the slightest ground to believe these mendacious assertions, dictated by a party spirit, and unhappily handed down by sincere and estimable writers—like so many other false traditions, which history will not unveil, except by a judicious investigation after the lapse of ages. Such suppositions are not compatible either with the character of that unfortunate prince, or with the sentiments which the queen is known to have entertained after the end of the constituent assembly, or with the resolution not to quit the capital, notwithstanding the imminent danger which every step of a foreign force could not fail to increase. Struck to the heart, and foreseeing the inevitable consequence of the suspicions which this perfidious manifesto seemed to justify, Louis XVI wrote to the assembly to inform it of this publication, though it had not yet any authenticity, and to repel the odious supposition of his connivance.

We asked for the impression and transmission to all the departments of this declaration of the king, but our adversaries replied to the manifestation of our sentiments, and the affecting expression of the king's wishes for the union of all French hearts by the most bitter mistrust and insulting irony.

In the midst of extreme agitation, Isnard, the most violent of their orators, obtained leave to speak. Instead of treating on the question of printing the king's letter, he

declaimed, in the most passionate manner, and made an accusation, in which he had accumulated all the pretended grievances, all the calumnious suppositions, all the deeds of treachery, which had been constantly imputed to the king during the whole course of this session. "He must have," said Isnard, "some influence over the minds of the princes and kings, his relations, and it is they who have excited against us the concert of the powers. For whom do these courts arm? For him. What do they require of us? To re-establish his despotic power. It is even his name that all our enemies act. The king, according to the constitution, ought to oppose their enterprises by formal acts. For more than a year past he has known the treaty of the powers against France, and he has done nothing to break it, to obtain allies for us, to put the empire in a state of defence. After war was declared, the nation was found to be without arms, without ammunition, without horses, without military stores. These are facts, which make a complete contrast with the whole of the king's letter, and after which, if we should order it to be printed, we should order the printing of a heap of lies."

Neither truth nor generous sentiments could now penetrate into minds which were fascinated or struck with terror. We remained silent with indignation. The assembly passed to the order of the day. Immediately after this deplorable scene, Pétion, the mayor, at the head of a group of Jacobins, appeared at the bar. He came to strike the last blow. He came in the name of the commune of Paris to read an address, drawn up, as he said, by the commissioners of the forty-eight sections.

"Legislators! It is when the country is in danger that all her children ought to press round her, and never was the country threatened with such great danger. The commune of Paris sends us to you; we come to bring to the sanctuary of the laws the wishes of an immense city."

After this paternal exordium, Pétion entered at once upon the subject. "Penetrated with respect for the representatives of the nation, full of confidence in their courageous patriotism, the commune of Paris has not despaired of the public safety, but it believes that to cure the evils of France, they must be attacked in their source without losing a moment. It is with grief that it denounces through us the head of the executive power.

The people has undoubtedly the right to be incensed against him, but the language of anger does not become men of firm minds. Compelled by Louis XVI to accuse him before you, and before all France, we shall accuse him without anger, but without pusillanimous indulgence."

Retracing the events of the revolution during the time of the constituent assembly, Pétion added, "we set aside every thing which has been covered by the pardon of the people, but this pardon is not oblivion." The remainder of the address was but a repetition, almost word for word, of the violent speech of Isnard. Historical facts were misrepresented; vague suspicions which had been propagated, were represented as certain proofs of odious and sanguinary projects. Lastly, the conclusion of this requisition, pronounced with imperturbable assurance by the first magistrate of the capital, who had become the official organ of the faction, was in the following terms:—"The head of the executive power is the first link of the counter-revolutionary chain; he seems to participate in the plot of Pilnitz, which he was so late in making known; his name is a signal of discord between the people and its magistrates; between the soldiers and the generals. He has separated his interests from those of the nation; we will separate them as he has done. Far from having opposed, by a formal act, the enemies at home and abroad, his conduct is an act of perpetual disobedience to the constitution. So long as we have such a king, liberty cannot be consolidated, and we are resolved to remain free.

"A remaining inclination to indulgence would have induced us to propose to you the suspension of the king, as long as the danger of the country shall continue, but the constitution opposes this. Louis XIV continually appeals to the constitution. We appeal to it in our turn, and demand his dethronement. When this great measure is once taken, as it is doubtful whether the nation will still have confidence in the present dynasty, we demand that ministers, jointly responsible, nominated by the national assembly out of its own body, according to the constitutional law, shall exercise provisionally the executive power, till the will of the people, our sovereign and yours, shall be legally announced in a national convention, as soon as the safety of the state will permit."

Applauses and manifestations of ferocious joy in the

galleries welcomed the speaker and the deputation of the sections. They obtained the honors of the sitting, and the assembly decreed that the address should be referred to tho extraordinary committee. But they had scarcely quitted the bar when they were succeeded by other petitioners of the sections of Mauconseil and Gravilliers. These went much further than those who had preceded them. They spoke like real sovereigns; declared "that it was impossible to save liberty by the constitution, which could not be ackdowledged as the expression of the genewill; that they no longer recognised Louis XVI as king of the French; that they abjured every other oath, as having been surreptitiously obtained from the public; that they had sworn to live and die free; that, in consequence, they would on the next day but one, the 5th of August, appear in a body at the bar of the assembly, to notify to it the present declaration, and ask whether it would at length save the country, reserving, according to the answer which should be made to them, the right to take such further resolution as they might see good."

The second speaker demanded positively that the king should be put on his trial as a faithless public functionary. Relying on the articles of the penal code, and showing the difficulty of observing the ordinary forms and the inconvenience of delay, he proposed to consider the king as having abdicated by the fact of his treason, and concluded thus:—" War is declared between Louis XVI and France. A moment lost and France is undone.

" We still leave to you, legislators, the honor of saving the country; but if you refuse to save it, we must necessarily take upon us to save it ourselves."

The assembly replied to this insolent defiance by admitting the petitioners to the honors of the sitting. Then Girardin rose. Being persuaded that nothing was more calculated to weaken the effect of this seditious petition than printing and sending it to all the departments, he earnestly desired both. " It is fitting," said he, " that free men show themselves when the factious appear."

The Girondins had made vain efforts to restrain their assassins. They saw themselves out-manœuvred. It was too late. The servants had already become the masters. Alarmed by these prophetic words of abjuration of obedience to the laws, of the calling of a convention, of the

trial of the king, they endeavored to stop their downward course, on the rapid declivity of which some had been hurried away. Vergniaud ascended the tribune. "You have instructed your committee," said he, "to report to you, before the sitting breaks up, on the resolution and decree of the section of Mauconseil, and on the mode in which the people might exercise their sovereignty. With respect to the latter question, it requires too profound and mature investigation to be submitted to you at present. As for the resolution of the section of Mauconseil, the committee has thought it important to present a decree to you, because love of liberty has so heated people's minds, and the passions are so excited, that it has seemed to be proper to prevent their excesses." On his motion the assembly adopted the following decree:—

"The national assembly, considering that the sovereignty belongs to the whole people, and not to a section of the people; that there would be neither government nor constitution, that we should be exposed to all the disorders of anarchy and civil discord, if each citizen, or each section of the empire might declare that it releases itself from that part of its oaths which it is unwilling to observe, and refuses obedience to such laws, or such constituted authorities, as it thinks fit no longer to recognise—

"Considering that if an ardent love of liberty alone has induced the citizens of the section of Mauconseil to take the resolution which it has sent to the other sections, it is nevertheless requisite to social order to repress excesses, which would have the most fatal consequences, declares that an immediate decision is necessary.

"The national assembly, having thus declared, annuls the unconstitutional decree of the section of Mauconseil, invites all citizens to confine their zeal within the limits of the law, and to be on their guard against the intrigues of those who endeavor, by its violation, to endanger the public tranquillity and liberty itself."

Whether this measure was but a hypocritical parade of attachment to the constitution, the overthrow of which was resolved upon, or whether it was dictated by fear and wounded pride, it was constitutional, and was voted unanimously; but the Girondins hastened to neutralise its effect, and to show equal ardor with the Jacobins in the common work of destruction.

It was not enough to accuse the king; to declare war against him; to excite the revolted people to acts of violence against his person and his family; it was further necessary, in order to encourage the most timid of the factious to commit so great a crime, to strip the king of of all means of defending himself.

The assembly had before decreed that two battalions of the Swiss guards, completed to the war establishment, should be sent, without delay, to the army of the north. Though the perfidious intention was evident, yet the motive, namely, the necessity of reinforcing the army, was so plausible, that the king could not refuse his sanction. But general count d'Affry interfered, and opposed the separation of the two battalions, alleging the capitulations, and the wish expressed by the diet. He declared that he could not assent to this removal till he should have received fresh orders from his government. The minister of war d'Abancourt having given an account of the matter in the sitting of the 4th of August, Lasource accused that minister of disobedience in having suspended the execution of the decree barely on the observations of count d'Affry, and required that the examination of the minister's conduct should be referred to the diplomatic committee to make a report upon it. Several members of the constitutional minority, among whom were Tronchon and Dalloz, powerfully stated the reasons which had made it advisable to suspend the execution of the decree. All our eastern frontiers, said they justly, were covered and guarded by the neutrality and the fidelity of the Swiss. Ought we to risk the breaking of our alliance with them?

Lasource replied, that the executive power could not, according to the constitution, cause any troops of the line to pass, or to abide within 30,000 toises of the legislative body, without its permission.

Guadet, strongly seconding the accusation against the minister of war, said that the public safety depended on the removal of the Swiss troops; that it was proper to punish his disobedience, and cause the decree to be executed. "In 1755," said he, "when the king thought that three Swiss battalions of his guard were wanted to carry on the war, he did not consult the cantons to send them against the enemy. I very readily conceive that a king

is more powerful than a nation, and certainly your weakness sufficiently proves it every day."

Thuriot added to this proposal another, that the Swiss who remained at Paris should not do duty about the king's person, except when required by the constituted authorities.

All these proposals, the presages of the impending catastrophe, were referred to the diplomatic committee.

Some acts of courage, some sparks of true patriotism still appeared. A deputation from the section of the library came to the bar to protest against the address relative to the dethronement of the king.

Brissot replied by denouncing, as a focus of counter-revolution, the quarter of the Rue-Vivienne and the section of the Filles-Saint-Thomas. "This section," said he, "to which I belonged, is divided into two parts, the one respectable, including a great number of patriots, or rather Sans-culottes, (this was the first time that this term was used in the national tribune;) the other, the gangrenous part of the nation, is composed of financiers, brokers, jobbers, who, since the commencement of the revolution, have done more injury to the success of liberty than all the Prussian and Austrian arms." Brissot announced the presence of commissioners, who came to refute all the assertions of the petitioners; and in fact Collot d'Herbois and Marie Chenier appeared at the bar.

They also spoke in the name of all the citizens of the capital, and required, as the surest remedy to extinguish civil discord, that the assembly should decree that all the meetings of the sections, without any restriction, should be public.

Thus all the time of our sitting was consumed in hearing such applications. We had before our eyes the melancholy picture of civil dissensions. We heard alternately generous protests of the fast friends of liberty, and the vociferations of the fanatical anarchists.

Some other sections, which had kept alive the sacred fire, among others that of the arsenal, energetically protested against the address delivered by the mayor, Pétion, to require the dethronement of the king. One of the most remarkable of these documents, which is worthy of being preserved for history, is the constitutional address of the city of Nancy, which was seconded by our colleague

Foissé, the same whom I mentioned on occasion of the mission which we fulfilled together in the departments of the Rhine, during the constituent assembly. Several general councils of departments, such as those of the Isére, of the Meuse, of the Lower Seine, courageously seconded our last efforts, which only doubled the rage of our adversaries, who were already too certain of their detestable victory. For instance, the petitioners of the Champ de Mars, being admitted to the sitting, expressed themselves as follows:—"The country is in danger; these terrible words signify, we are betrayed; despotism has only changed its form. Liberty is still but a vain name; the laws are mute and powerless. A perfidious court is laboring, is struggling, is setting every engine at work, in order to make us believe in its patriotism; we shall take care not to fall into this snare: for three years we have been amused with such language. We feel that all free Frenchmen are resolved this time, not to enter into any kind of composition, or arrangement with an implacable, an irreconcilable enemy. All hearts are shut against generosity. Three years of perfidy, of continual treachery, have too well taught us, that a false king who is unpunished is the curse of a free state. Numerous phalanxes of free men are led by chiefs chosen by and among the people; iron, pikes, threaten preparations, wherever the enemies of equality breathe; let the most powerful be struck the first; and the remainder be scattered and reduced to nothingness."

These bold petitioners marched under a banner worthy of them, a pole surmounted with a red cap with a label, on which were the following words—"*Suppression of the persecuting power.*" Some of us were indignant; the label was torn off.

These inflammatory addresses, this appeal to arms, were dictated and commanded by the revolutionists out of the assembly; the Jacobins and Cordeliers alone had in their hands, by means of their affiliated clubs, the insurrectionary force, the means of action. Robespierre at the Jacobins, Danton at the Cordeliers, were the most remarkable tribunes of this dreadful power. Accordingly, they spoke in the tone of masters, and despised the doctors of the Gironde, who, dreading excesses which they could not restrain, were endeavoring to give some appearance

of legislative regularity to the results of this great disorder. It was particularly suited to the views of this tortuous policy, to extort from the assembly a decree of impeachment against general Lafayette. This success, if they could obtain it, was but a secondary advantage for the Jacobins, who were further advanced in the conspiracy, while the Girondins, who were very uneasy at the constitutional disposition of the northern and eastern departments, had it much at heart, that the idol should fall under the power of their eloquence, and that they might recover their credit with the mass of the people, by boasting of this victory. The debate was resumed in the sitting of the 8th of August. It was the turn of Vaublanc to ascend the tribune. He read a speech in which, detailing in the most minute manner and with great correctness all the movements of the armies of Lafayette and Luckner, he re-established, as I had done myself, the incontestible truth of the facts, and fully justified the motives.

The order to print this speech, which was voted in spite of the opposition of our adversaries and the hootings of the galleries, made us conceive some hope.

Brissot, without contradiction the most able speaker of the party, delivered a written speech, which was a true model of dialectics, sophistry, and eloquence; an unfaithful document, but valuable for the history of the time. His sentimental exordium deserves to be quoted:—"The famous lord Mansfield said to the jury, in the action between the duke of Cumberland, the king's brother, and lord Grosvenor, 'Gentlemen, imagine that you have now to decide between A and B. Forget the prince, look only to the facts, see only an individual.' I shall address you, gentlemen, in the same language. The general whom you have to try fills an eminent post, enjoys a high reputation, has a great number of friends, and, on the other hand, his enemies are numerous; violent accusations are brought against him. You are representatives of the people, and juries on the trial, and consequently you ought to be dispassionate. Hatred and favor ought to be equally far from you. It is a duty common to all; I shall fulfil it conscientiously: two motives induce me to do so; the recollection of old friendship, the dangers of the country. It is one of the greatest misfortunes attendant on revolutions, to have to condemn an old friend. Of this I am now sen-

sible. I have seen M. Lafayette attached to the most rigid principles. I then highly esteemed him; I then hoped that he would exert all his efforts to make them triumph. Twenty times I have conjured him to do so. An infernal coalition has poisoned his mind, has carried him away from his principles and his glory. I, with other friends, have endeavored to bring him back. He has rejected all my wishes, and I have renounced his friendship. He is nothing more to me.

"Woe to him who should see in this cause only an enemy to be punished, a party to be turned into ridicule."

The speaker, entering on the subject of the military conduct of the general, asked, "what is the crime of M. Lafayette?" He did not accuse him of having acted in concert with the Austrians, but he endeavored to show that a general, if he had wished to serve the plans of the enemy, would not have acted otherwise than Lafayette had done. In this spirit, and in spite of the most authentic facts, he explained all the operations of the general, the justness and necessity of which had been so plainly demonstrated by Bureau de Puzy. He represented the most judicious movements as useless promenades, ordered to fatigue the army, and meantime leave the frontiers exposed. "Confess, then," cried Brissot, "you who demand proofs in writing, confess that here is profound incapacity, if there is not profound treachery." Quoting the example of admiral Byng, who was condemned to death by a court-martial, conformable to the severe laws of the English, for not having done his duty, "Washington," said he, "would not have refused to be tried by the same law, and if it were to decide the fate of his disciple, he would soon be no more."

Proceeding then to examine the political conduct of Lafayette, "I accuse him," said Brissot, "of having abused the power and the forces which the nation intrusted to him, of having endangered the safety of the state and violated the constitution, either to impede the deliberation of the legislative body or to debase the legislature, or to excite a civil war between all the citizens, or lastly to arrogate to himself a power above all the constituted authorities.

"All these facts are crimes, and the law punishes them

with death." The speaker here quoted the articles of the penal code.

Having exhausted the subject, and used arms which were familiar to him, sophistry, the assertion of disputed facts, and bitter irony, Brissot discussed at length the objections which he had found in the speech of Dumolard, and replied at the same time to that just delivered by Vaublanc. He repeatedly reproduced under various forms the same reasoning upon the five heads of the accusation, and more particularly dwelt on the unpardonable crime of having attacked the popular societies and debased the national assembly.

The principal feature of the peroration of the speech was the false parallel between the conduct of Cromwell and that of Lafayette. "Cromwell," said he, "likewise presented a petition, in which he demanded, in the name of the army, the reformation of abuses. The parliament thanked Cromwell, who a few days afterwards expelled it. But there is not in France a Cromwell, nor, above all, soldiers of Cromwell." After having spoken for more than two hours, Brissot moved that the assembly should immediately pronounce the decree of impeachment. The printing of his speech having been voted, and the debate closed, we demanded the *appel nominal*, the result of which was,

For the impeachment - - -	224
Against it - - - - -	406
Majority	182

It is therefore certain that there were in this assembly on the one hand 230 republicans, Girondins or Jacobins; on the other side 160 constitutional royalists, and 246 of different opinions, pretending to form the independent party, and who, being united on this important occasion with the 160 constitutionalists, formed a majority of 406 against 224, and this almost upon the eve of the counter-revolution of the 10th of August.

It was a last and deceitful ray of hope. The torch of truth was on the point of being extinguished. As soon as the decree was pronounced, and the sitting closed, cries of rage and imprecations burst from the galleries, and were repeated by the tumultuous crowd who surrounded the hall and obstructed all access to it. The deputies whom

the factions had chiefly remarked during the debate, and whom they pointed out to the assassins, were insulted, attacked, pursued out of the hall in different directions. Dûmolard, Vaublanc, Daverhoult, Quatremère, Froudière, with difficulty took refuge in the guard-house of the court of the palais royal, and found no other means of escaping the popular rage than by getting out of a window. I too had my share in this ill-usage. I was going out by the narrow passage which led from the hall to the convent of the Capuchins, where our bureaux were situated, when I was surrounded by a group of market-women. Trodden under foot by these furies, I should have perished under their blows, if Girardin, who followed me, and called to my assistance two door-keepers of the assembly, had not freed me by dragging me by the legs out of the passage. During this struggle, an individual whom I will not name, and who, in the mutual massacre of the terrorists, afterwards perished on the scaffold, encouraged these women. I heard him say distinctly, "It is he! it is Dumas!" I must also say that some of our most ardent adversaries, placing us between them, favored our departure. I concealed, as well as I could, the disorder of my head-dress and of my torn clothes, and took refuge in the depôt of the war-office, of which I was still director, and which I had caused to be transferred from Versailles to the house of M. Deville, in the place Vendôme, near the Chancery.

Exposed without defence to the popular fury, which was constantly excited against us, we resolved, at least such of us as could communicate with each other, to inform the president of these attacks, and not to appear in the following sittings till we should have obtained satisfaction and security for our persons. However, on the following day, the 9th of August, every thing appearing to me sufficiently quiet, I returned to the assembly with my friend Theodore Lameth. Going first to the military committee, I there met one of my colleagues in the same committee, d'Espinassy, an officer of artillery, who voted constantly with the Gironde, a man of honor and probity, who was sincere in his republican opinions, and who abhorred monarchy as much as I did myself. We had a mutual esteem for each other. He blamed what he called my prejudices, as I lamented his error. D'Espinassy came up to me, took me aside, and said, "Do you know

that you and some of your friends, but you especially run great danger?" "No, unless it is such as it is our duty to brave as long as possible." "You will inevitably be assassinated." "I have received many similar warnings." "This is more certain; yesterday evening I remained the last in one of our bureaux, separated from the next by a wooden partition. I heard your name, that of Girardin, and some others. Listening attentively, though the persons spoke in a low voice, no part of this conversation escaped me." (The speakers were three men, who, a few hours afterwards, figured in the too famous commune of Paris, subsequently in the most atrocious scenes, and lastly on the scaffold.) "You are watched; you have no secure asylum; come to my house." I did not accept this generous offer. I pressed d'Espinassy's hand, and thanking him, promised to keep the secret, and to have recourse, according te circumstances, to his generous support, and especially to his good advice. It will be seen with what interest this worthy comrade watched over me till the end of the session. I constantly corresponded with him, and since his death in exile, with his family.

The sitting of the 9th August was only a continuation of anarchical manifestations. The conspirators, almost at the moment of explosion, being still uncertain of success, endeavored to regain in the assembly the ground which they had lost on the preceding day by the rejection of the motion to impeach Lafayette. Lamarque, before treating the question of the king's dethronement, which he had proposed, announced a decree which contained an urgent measure, preparatory to this great question. "The executive power," said he, "has very openly declared war against the legislative body and the whole nation; this is a truth acknowledged by all the members of the assembly." "Speak for yourself," interrupted Becquey; "the assembly desires no such spokesmen as you." Lamarque resumed his speech, which was the most inflammatory we had yet been obliged to hear. With a refinement of perfidy, he explained how the struggle ought to begin, and how the king had prepared it, and would commence a civil war. After this sinister prophecy, Lamarque presented his draft of a decree, in which we find the germ of the law against the suspected, of the certificates of civism,

and, in short, of all the acts of violence which were developed under the convention.

The intention of this discourse evidently was to anticipate, and if possible to destroy, the impression which would be produced by the declaration of the deputies, who, on leaving the preceding sitting, had been subject to the insults and the fury of the Marseillais and their numerous accomplices. Our letters addressed to the president were read from the tribune. The first and most remarkable was that of Froudière, who, having attacked, with equal courage and eloquence, the party of the Gironde, had been sent to the abbey. He was one of those deputies, who, being pelted with stones and covered with mud, and even beaten, had taken refuge in the corps de garde of the Palais Royal. His letter was too faithful a narrative to be borne by the real instigators of these acts of violence. The reading of this and other letters was, however, finished amidst the murmurs and threats of the galleries, and of their advocates in the assembly. All these complaints, however, had no other effect than to increase the agitation of the assembly. Dejoly, the minister of justice, transmitting positive warnings of the impending sedition, declared that the laws were powerless, and called for the intervention of the legislative body to insure public safety. Rœderer, the procurator-general-syndic, came himself to the bar to give an account of the measures which had been taken by the directory of the department, and of his personal intercourse with the mayor of Paris. He acquainted the assembly with a resolution, taken by the section of the Quinze-Vingts, the substance of which was, that if the legislative body had not decided by midnight on the following day upon the fate of the king, the tocsin would be sounded and the général beat, in order that the people might rise *en masse*. This resolution further declared that it should be communicated to the forty-seven sections, as also to the federalists, inviting them to agree to it.

Rœderer informed the assembly that this resolution of the section of the Quinze-Vingts (Faubourg Saint-Antoine) having been rejected as unconstitutional by other sections, and denounced to the department by that of the king of Sicily, the directory, considering that the sections could not deliberate, except upon municipal subjects, and that armed

bodies cannot deliberate upon any subjects, had resolved that the municipality should take such measures as were in its power to prevent the sounding of the tocsin, denounced by the section of the king of Sicily, and should inform the council of it without delay; that the municipality, conformably to the decree of the council of the 4th of this month, should cause the decisions of the sections to be given to it every day, and should send them to the council. The directory invited all the citizens to join, in order to bring about the re-establishment of tranquillity, if it were interrupted, and the execution of the law. By this act of its administration the directory of the department of the Seine had entirely fulfilled its duty, and called on the mayor of Paris to do his. The latter hastened to acquit himself of his responsibility to the assembly, and especially to the chiefs of the insurrection, in whose secrets he was initiated. He gave an account of the measures which he had taken to conform to the decrees of the directory; illusory measures, the motive and the insufficiency of which he confessed in the following terms, which deserve to be quoted, because they contain a memorable lesson: "Consider, gentlemen, I entreat you, what is the public force. The public force is composed of all the citizens, which citizens have their political opinions, and it cannot be dissembled that the public force is not under arms to deliberate, but it deliberates in the sections, since no one can be in a section without being an active citizen, nor can any one be an active citizen without being at the same time a national guard; and when the sections are in a state of permanence, when they are engaged with the public dangers, when they present addresses to the national assembly, then you must believe, gentlemen, that the members who compose these sections are at the same time the national guard itself, and that this public force is then divided in opinion. It would be extremely dangerous to oppose the public force to the public force."

Vain subtleties, useless efforts! The corruption of popular opinion, the confusion of all the elements of social order, were at the height: The constitution which was still appealed to, no longer existed, and the assembly was but too faithful an image of this state of anarchy. The speakers of the Gironde, terrified at the approaching denouement which they fancied they had so skilfully prepared,

and in which they were already no more than secondary actors, wished at least to appear upon the stage before this terrible crisis. Guadet and Vergniaud spoke, and declaimed against the result of the sitting in which the majority had declared for General Lafayette. Guadet in particular affected to censure the constitutional party, and to accuse it of connivance with the foreigners who invaded the kingdom. Being called upon to explain himself without ambiguity, he accused us of having, since the beginning of the session, fanned the fire of discord in Paris. This was almost pointing us out by name to the daggers of the assassins, who had insulted and pursued us the day before. Thus ended this sitting of the 9th of August; almost at the moment when the tocsin was sounded—a sitting which may be considered as the last of the legislative assembly, after which there was not even any appearance of liberty of opinion.

Here I stop, since, on reviewing my reminiscences, I cannot find in them any personal testimony respecting the events of the 10th of August, 1792, I was neither an actor nor a witness on that occasion, and therefore confine myself to recording in these memoirs the facts which passed before my eyes, the part which I may have taken in them, and my conscientious opinion. I will, therefore, continue my depositions. If the cotemporary witnesses of these great catastrophes, questioning themselves on what they really saw, and the impressions which they received in the several positions in which they were placed, answer and testify with the same sincerity, they will bequeath to posterity the elements of a sentence, which future historians will have to pronounce. A young writer, already celebrated, I mean M. Thiers, has anticipated them, and appears to me, especially in his narrative of the 10th of August, to have placed himself in the true point of view. This part of the history of the revolution does the greatest honor to his talents, not only on account of the nervous, brilliant, and animated style in which he has painted the scenes and the characters, but also on account of the care he has taken to search for original documents, which might afford him the clearest light, and the skill and precision with which he has developed all the springs of this vast and deep-laid conspiracy against the monarchy. I have always thought, as I have just

said, that it is only for the writer of another age to discover the truth amidst so many conflicting narratives, either erroneous or dictated by passion; and yet I do not believe that this period, the most important in our history, can ever be written with more energy and impartiality, and from all that I have been able to learn, either directly or indirectly, I declare that I give the author implicit credit.

In the evening of the 9th of August, I returned alone to the war depôt, where M. Deville, the proprietor of that building, and a deputy of one of the departments of Auvergne, who always voted with us, had caused apartments to be prepared for me. A few moments afterwards the tocsin was sounded in all the quarters of Paris. I passed the night in the most painful anxiety, and towards seven o'clock in the morning set out for the assembly, whither M. Deville had gone before me. As I was crossing the Place Vendôme, and perceived at the gate of the Feuillants a tumultuous crowd round a hackney-coach, Deville ran up to me and said, "Go no further, you are undone if you advance a few steps. Let us hasten back immediately; I will explain to you." I followed him. "There is there," said he, "a band of assassins, who have stopped and murdered, and cut off the heads of a patrole, who, they said, were royalists. The hackney-coach which they have just stopped, was conveying our colleague Delmas," (one of our most ardent adversaries, Delmas of Toulouse;) "he told his name, but the furious mob, understanding that he said Dumas, had dragged him out of the coach, and had already ill used him. It would have been all over with him had not other members of the assembly hastened to his assistance, and certified that it was Delmas, and not the traitor Dumas." Under these circumstances, to escape the fury of the assassins, conscious that I had fulfilled all my duties, and that the obscure sacrifice of my life could be of no service to my country, I renounced the intention of going to the assembly. I commissioned my colleague to inform my friend Theodore Lameth, and to make known the reasons of my absence to those of our friends, who, more fortunate than myself had been able to repair to their post. The Place Vendôme was filled with the crowd which followed the wretches, who carried heads on the ends of their pikes. *Above all I beheld with horror*

very young men, even children, playing with heads, throwing them into the air, and receiving them on the ends of their sticks. This passed but a short time before the discharge of fire-arms in the attack and the assault of the palace of the Tuileries. At the first cannot-shot, the crowd which filled the Place Vendôme and choked up the Rue Saint Honoré dispersed and fled in all directions. Soon afterwards cries of victory were heard, and the mass of people flowed back with the same precipitation, pressing about the environs of the hall. A little later, in the midst of this tumult, we saw the famous Téroigne, on horseback, in a scarlet riding habit, followed by a great number of workmen, carrying ropes and all sorts of tools. She rode round the statute of Louis XIV insulting the great monarch, and crying, "Fall, tyrant!" The iron railing which surrounded the pedestal was torn away in an instant; they scaled and put ropes round the head, neck, and croup of the horse; they made long and fruitless exertions; but it was not till the next day, after they had defaced the pedestal and filed the screws and the fastenings, that they could move the mass. It fell on the pavement, and was broken into several pieces. I had learnt from M. Deville what had passed in the assembly. Soon afterwards Theodore Lameth joined me. Several houses on the Place Vendôme had been searched; and as that in which we were was watched, M. and Madame Deville being justly alarmed, I and my friend left the house by a door which opened into the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, in order to reach the Faubourg St. Germain. Much confusion still prevailed; and in the Place Louis Quinze the dead bodies of the unhappy Swiss, who had been pursued and massacred, were stripped, insulted and examined by the women. My pen cannot trace the outrages of this unbridled rage. We took refuge for the night in a house in the Rue Saint-Dominique, the owners of which were absent from Paris. On the following day after having consulted together on the inevitable consequence of the horrible victory of the factious, and recollecting the warning which had been given me, we judged that our return to the assembly, if it did not absolutely ensure our safety, was at least the course which offered us the best chance, and we resolved to appear at the evening sitting. The inviolability of the persons of the

deputies, though it had already been infringed, was a matter in which all the members of the assembly had a common interest, however unable it had been to maintain this constitutional privilege. In the midst of this confusion, notwithstanding the dispersion of a great number of our friends, we had still the right, and perhaps also the duty of completing the fulfilment of our trust, in concurring by our counsels in the defence of the territory. Theodore Lameth and myself entered the hall on the side of the Jacobins, since called the Mountain; on that side the benches were closely filled; those on which we usually sat were, on the contrary, very empty.* As we crossed the hall, we met and almost ran against Robespierre, who, coming out of the bar with some petitioners, was passing in a contrary direction, to enjoy the honors of the sitting at the summit of the Mountain. We had scarcely taken our usual places, when Merlin de Thionville, with whom, notwithstanding the extravagance of his opinions, I have never ceased to be connected by mutual esteem, gave me a proof of probity which I take pleasure in recording here. He ventured to come and and seat himself between us. "Why are you come here?" said he; "do you know to what you expose yourselves? Look at those demagogues." "We come to do our duty; to take the new oath which is required, and to sit till the close of the session." "Well, then, wait only a quarter of an hour; you will ascend the tribune; and when you have taken the oath, do not stay a moment in your seats, and then endeavor to slip away." We followed his advice, and retired by the passages behind the bureau of the president.

If I were writing the history of the Revolution, I should here have to draw the dark picture of the ruins of the social fabric, and *of the greatest disorder into which any nation has ever fallen.* I should have to show, first, the national representation usurping all the powers constituted by the fundamental law, and abdicating the exercise of them by the illegal convocation of a convention. I should then have to analyse the acts of this assembly during the

* After all that had passed during the preceding days, the reproach directed by some prejudiced writers against the constitutional party, which was attacked, pursued and dispersed by the assassins of the faction, is unquestionably a manifest injustice.

forty days in which it survived itself; acts by which, borne down as it was under the ruins of the constitution which it had overthrown, proved that it was now but the instrument of the sanguinary faction which domineered over it, and dictated its decrees.

The Girondins endeavored, in vain, to seem to direct, in the storm, the dismantled vessel of the state. Their tardy moderation rendered them suspected by the new power which rose above them. The constitutional party was proscribed and disdained; the Girondins were attacked; domiciliary visits were made in the houses of some of them, and especially in that of Brissot. The hall of the assembly and the bureaux were an asylum for them also. I remember that, having come one morning, very early, to the place where the united legislative and military committees held their sittings, I was very much astonished at finding Condorcet lying under the table. It was, I believe, on the 13th of August, the very day on which he proposed the famous address to the French people, which was an historical and philosophical review of all the late events, and all the acts of the legislative assembly, from the commencement of the session to the 10th of August inclusive, a memoir in justification of the policy of the Girondins, and of all the violations which they had proposed or tolerated, to attain the object which escaped them.

The intractable Jacobins left to the Girondins and their friends but a very slight influence in the exercise of power. Though the independents had supported by their votes the nomination of the ministers, Roland, Clavière, and Servan, on account of their just reputation for probity and humanity, they had not even attempted to oppose the choice of Danton as minister of justice. That audacious tribune, who was in fact dictator, despising half measures, and every kind of circumspection, took upon himself alone the responsibility for every thing which appeared to him to be necessary to consummate the democratic counter-revolution. In concert for some time with the envious Robespierre, and the leaders of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, who sat in the assembly, he opposed to the republicans of the Gironde the monstrous and formidable power of the commune of Paris; an infernal council, in which another St. Bartholomew, the massacres of the 2d of Sep-

tember, was contrived. Lastly, it would be just and consolatory to show likewise, in the picture of this period of our history, the generous efforts of the national ardor to repel the invasion of the territory. If I was hindered, as well as some of my brave companions, from seeking an asylum under the standards which triumphed at Valmy, I at least labored to encourage the formation into battalions of all those who hastened to the defence of the country, and who thus by shedding their blood for the honor of the French arms, atoned for the blood of the innocent victims sacrificed by the assassins. I very constantly attended the sittings of the military committee, and was several times commissioned to make reports, and propose decrees relative to the organisation of the armies. I had doubtless many political adversaries, but no personal enemy; and among my colleagues, the most ardent revolutionists did justice to my zeal and my patriotic motives. I was consulted on the means of defending the capital, and indicated the points which it was necessary to fortify, and the distribution of the voluntary laborers, as one of the most effectual means to restore order and calm the mass of the people.

The first news of the taking of Longwy and Verdun had excited the greatest exasperation. We learnt every day the arrest, the condemnation, the execution of persons whom the search made in the palace and in private houses had implicated, or even rendered suspected. I was informed by a member of the committee of surveillance of the assembly that I had been again denounced to that of the commune. D'Espinassy, whom I had consulted, urged me to quit the assembly before the end of August, because the inflammatory speeches in the clubs, and in the sections, and especially in the public and numerous meetings of the commune of Paris, left no doubt that a great insurrection was at hand. I did not see any necessity for making any change in my usual way of life. I had, however, taken precaution to send out of my house a very intelligent postilion, in whom I could place entire confidence. I had given him a cabriolet and two good horses, permitting him to go on the stand, and to let them for his own profit, promising to give him the two horses as a reward, if he would take me out of Paris when I should give him notice. I advised him to attend his sec-

tion, to get acquainted with the most ardent patriots; to provide himself with all the certificates which might be useful to him, and to come sometimes during the night, to give me an account of what he had seen and heard. I have already said that I had left the house of my father-in-law, M. Delarue, because the famous Hebert, member of the commune of Paris, who governed my section, was one of those who had denounced me.

On Sunday, the 2d of September, I had been to dine with my friend Theodore de Lameth, at the Hôtel de Lameth, in the Rue Notre Dame des Champs. The garden of the hotel joined the Rue Vaugirard, opposite the church of the Carmes. About seven o'clock we heard a great tumult, and soon afterwards a dreadful cry. This was uttered by the priest, who had been brought into the church, and whom the people were murdering amidst cries of "Vive la nation!" while the tocsin was sounding on every side.

We were leaving the hotel to return to the assembly, when my valet-de-chambre, Philip, came to inform me that they had surrounded the house of my father-in-law, and were making a domiciliary visit. I did not hesitate to go thither, assuring my friend that I should soon join him in the assembly. I passed very near the Abbey Saint Germain, to reach the Pont Neuf, and heard the cries of the crowd which surrounded that scene of carnage. It was night when I reached the street Thévenot. I found the house surrounded by sentinels, who, on my giving my name, made way for me. On going up to my apartment the first person I met was Hebert, who exhibited to me the order of the commune to seal up my papers. He was accompanied by two other municipal officers and some members of the section. They had already put their seals to my library and the drawers of my writing-table. Happily my secretary, M. Simonot, formerly a subaltern officer in the regiment of Condé, had displayed much firmness, and had not suffered a single paper to be touched. He had watched these police officers, to be certain that they did not slip in any paper which might afterwards be made use of against me. Being sure that there was nothing that could implicate me, nothing that had even the appearance of intrigue, nothing but what I had declared publicly in the assembly, I said to Hebert, passing my hand under

one of the tapes with which my writing table had been secured, that as a deputy I could tear off these seals, because I did not recognise in the commune, or any authority, the right to order such a violation of my domicile, but that being perfectly at ease respecting the issue of his search, I refrained from opposing it, and should go and give an account of it to the committee of surveillance of the assembly. They withdrew, excusing themselves on the score of the necessity of executing the orders which they had received, and for which they said they were not responsible.

I repaired to the assembly, taking those precautions, which the coincidence of this domiciliary visit with the fearful events of this day, and the situation of Paris, could not fail to suggest. I first entered the committee of surveillance, at which Rovère presided. Besides the members of the committee, about twenty deputies were standing around the table. All preserved silence, and appeared to be very attentive. I instantly recognised the accused person whom they were questioning; it was count de Montmorin, governor of Fontainbleau, who had already been interrogated at the bar of the assembly in the sitting of the 20th of August. There had been found in his apartments in the palace a paper in his hand-writing, in which he had noted the result of a conversation between some deputies, which he had overheard in the court-yard of the Feuillants. It related to the plan for conveying the king and royal family to Compiègne, there to call some troops from the army, and assemble the deputies who were disposed to remain faithful to their oath to maintain the constitution. No deputy was named in this paper, and M. de Montmorin firmly refused to point them out. He protested that he had only overheard a conversation, and that he did not know the names of the speakers. He persisted in giving no other information, besides the declarations which he had already made. He was taken back to prison, and atoned with his head for his devotedness and firmness.

The committee of surveillance took into consideration my complaint of the sealing up of my papers, assuring me that justice should be done, and that the illegal authority which the commune assumed should not be permitted. However, the seals were not taken off till six days afterwards, on an order of the committee of surveillance, with-

out any further investigation. I went to the assembly, where I witnessed the vain efforts which were made to stop the massacres, and heard the appointment of the commissioners, and the deplorable and shameful report which they made on their return from the abbey. On going the next day to the military committee, I there found Santerre and his aid-de-camp, Dugazon, an actor, whose ridiculous dress might have been a subject of laughter under less deplorable circumstances. We pointed out to the new commander of the armed force, the means which it was in his power to employ to put an end to this horrible butchery. He coldly protested that he was unable to do so. So much innocent blood shed in these days of murder and of mourning was surpassed in atrocity by the apology of the assassins. We were condemned to hear the songs of victory, worthy of those who had triumphed. From those fatal days, till the dissolution of the assembly on the 20th of September, I could think of nothing but these scenes of horror, and during this mortal anguish, my mind being unable to rest on any consolation, I was ashamed, nay I almost reproached myself for having survived my country.

I have already said that, foreseeing the inevitable catastrophe, I had sent my mother-in-law, my wife, and two daughters to Havre. My father-in-law remained alone at Paris. Being much esteemed in his section, he had not been molested since I had ceased to reside in his house. My brother-in-law, Delarue, had accompanied my second brother, Saint Fulcrand, one of the commissaries, to the army of Lafayette. My other brother, Dumas de St. Marcel, colonel of the regiment of Auvergne, had just been dismissed from the army by general Dumouriez, on account of his name. He ventured to join me at Paris, where he arrived on the 3d of September, and after having seen the minister Servan, with whom I had formerly been very intimate when he served in the regiment of the Dauphin, Saint Marcel resolved to disregard the order of Dumouriez, and to rejoin his regiment, which then occupied the important position of the defile of Islettes, under the command of general Dillon, who, seeing that he had put off his colonel's epaulettes, and taken those of a grenadier, resolved to combat and to perish in the ranks, obliged him to resume his post. Dumouriez, meeting my brother at

the head of his four battalions, after the brilliant action which he had maintained, gave him his hand, saying, "This is, indeed, the place and the manner in which we should be reconciled."

I continued till the end of the session to take an active part in the proceedings of the military and diplomatic committees. In the sitting of the 19th, I presented to the assembly, in the name of the committees united to the extraordinary commission, the draft of a decree relative to the exchange of prisoners. My counsels, my sincere zeal in every thing that might concur to the defence of the territory, to the increase and to the organisation of the national forces, daily acquired me more and more the esteem, and even the confidence of some of our most ardent political adversaries. I even received from them a proposal, which I was very far from expecting. "Why would you leave us?" they asked; "we do not doubt your patriotism; we will get you elected into the new convention. You will be useful to us, and we shall be able to support you against the prejudices which you may have reason to fear." I answered, that I did not think I could make part of an assembly illegally convoked without violating my oaths; that I had done my utmost to oppose the overthrow of the constitution which had been sworn to, and that I could never with good faith connive at so flagrant a violation of all the laws.

My presence in the military and diplomatic committees, united to the extrordinary commission, sometimes made me witness of the discussions of the principal leaders of the Girondins and those of the revolutionary parties on the best manner of proceeding to change the form of government. The Girondins proposed that as soon as the Convention should be constituted, a report should be made on the state of the country, and that the basis of a republican government should be laid down, and immediately discussed. Gensonné and Brissot developed their opinion with a display of logic and eloquence, when Merlin de Thionville interrupted them, saying abruptly, "You are making game of us; what need is there of all these oratorical flourishes? We must keep ourselves equal to the circumstances. We shall decree the republic by acclamation at the first sitting."

NOTE.

See pages 224, 241, 257, 304.

To give credit to their plan of usurpation and to accustom the people to it, propositions subversive of every kind of order and of government were continually brought forward, and those who did so did not blush to support them by unfaithful quotations or odious examples. Thus Brissot, in his speech of the 9th of July, in order to support a disorganising paradox, with a view to obtain the suspension of the law respecting military promotion, the effect of which would have been to dissolve the whole army, falsified the history of Great Britain, by speaking in the following terms of Cromwell:—"*There is a want of general officers*," said he; "*make yourselves easy, the secret of forming them is found: Cromwell at the age of forty had never had a musket in his hand; six years afterwards he gained battles as commander-in-chief, because the fatal rule of military promotion did not exist.*"

Cromwell, at the age of eighteen, served in the army of the Prince of Orange, which was the school of the greatest generals in Europe; he was with this army in the campaign of 1622, and afterwards served against France, in the siege of Rochelle, in 1627-1628. When a member of the House of Commons, being enthusiastic and brave, he was employed as early as 1642 in the character of major, in the army which the Parliament levied against the king. By his valor he rose rapidly to the rank of lieutenant-general, but he never commanded in chief,* except the division of parliamentary troops which gained in 1646 the decisive battle of Preston. The war was finished when the retirement of Sir Thomas Fairfax placed him at the head of an army which for ten years had been accustomed to conquer, under Essex, Manchester, Leslie, the two Fairfaxes, Waller, Danby, and himself. An intrepid soldier, an intelligent commander, Cromwell was not, however, indebted for his success to his military talents alone, but likewise to his deep-laid intrigues, to the resources of fanaticism, which was at that time all-powerful. He did not owe his advancement to the want of rules for military promotion, but to his distinguished services, to his genius, and to the cabals, which he so well knew how to combine. Seconded afterwards by Generals Ireton (his son-in-law,) Lambert, Monk, Vernon, Ludlow, and Harrison, his creatures, he was raised to the Protectorate by a Parliament, the majority of which was feeble or corrupted; by the Puritans and the Presbyterians, sects whose dogmas he had embraced, and which resembled those of other sects which seemed to have the most influence on

* The author is here in error. Cromwell was commander-in-chief in the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

the actual reformers of the French constitution; by the Independents, a mysterious sect, sprung from Presbyterianism, but composed of turbulent men, whose religious, moral, and political principles were the same as those of the modern levellers; by the agitators, poor, ignorant, and obscure men, but greedy, presumptuous, and bold, who, like our *Motionnaires*, at first made petitions and then dictated laws; by the red brothers, a regiment composed of the bravest of all the factions, and the imitation of which it would be easy to find amongst certain fanatics, who want nothing more than to be formed and trained by a Cromwell. Such are the degrees by which this model, quoted by M. Brissot, succeeded in suppressing the constitution of his country, in subjugating the legal authorities, in conducting the unfortunate Charles I. to the scaffold, and seating himself as a despot, though with a modest title, on the throne of his King. We well know what were the consequences of this usurpation; the government of Cromwell was tyrannical; his son was expelled; Charles II. was restored; the judges of Charles I. suffered the punishment of traitors; and the memory of the usurper is still detested by the English, who atone for his crime by an annual commemoration.

END OF VOL. I.

Continuation of "The Youth of Shakspeare."

JUST PUBLISHED BY LEA & BLANCHARD,

SHAKSPEARE AND HIS FRIENDS;

OR,

THE GOLDEN AGE OF MERRY ENGLAND.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"THE YOUTH OF SHAKSPEARE."

OPINIONS OF THE REVIEWERS.

From the Monthly Chronicle for July, 1838.

There are no assignable limits to the regions of Romance. Since kings, heroes, and statesmen have found their way into the new order of historical romance, we see no good reason why poets should not be admitted also. Their lives, it is true, are not so full of variety, and seldom yield a favorable crop of adventures; but then what a vision of mental strivings, of *chateaux en Espagne*, of inventions, passions, eccentricities, and undivulged speculations in the life of a poet. The only ground of distrust is, not in the matter of a poet's experiences, but in the power of the novelist to delineate them. An experiment of this kind—the boldest perhaps ever attempted—has recently been essayed in a work called "Shakspeare and his Friends." * * * There is considerable ability in this production, a just appreciation of social and intellectual characteristics; and a constant poetical sympathy in the fortunes of the men who conferred imperishable lustre upon that memorable age. Shakspeare, as he is here represented, realises the gentleness and purity which we naturally cling to as true attributes of his life: we have something of the levity, but none of the vices that have been, we cannot help thinking, rashly ascribed to him; he is here shown in all the fascinations of his fame, without any of those detractions, which, whether justly or unjustly deduced from his poems, it would be base disloyalty to his genius to introduce in a work of this description.* There are some clever lyrics scattered through the volumes, which, on the whole, are highly creditable to the writer.

From Tait's Edinburgh Journal for July.

He be, i' faith, a monstrous bold man this same Master Anonymous, author of "Shakspeare and his Friends,"—a bold man and withal a fortunate! He hath moreover some shrewd notions of the age about which he writeth, and of its men; a good judgment of dramatic and scenic effect; a sharp eye for picturesque circumstance; rare humor, and merry conceit; some learning; and above all, a most famous and absolute courage, that never halts or blenches. * * * We have been somewhat copious in extracts; but the love subsisting between Joanna and Master Francis, we consider the finest and most original and passionate thing in the serious portion of the volumes; and we therefore wish to introduce the mercer's daughter in her full proportions, with all her attributes and true womanly sensibilities—and all her frailties of womanly vanity quite as true. * * *

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Of Master Bacon, and the revels and jollifications of the Mermaid; of Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Donne, Cotton, Carew, Shakspeare, and a long list, which makes the mouth water, of the most famous wits of the time, we can afford to give no account whatever. Dame Cannikin, the landlady, her daughter Kate, and her drawer Barnaby, are each capital in their several ways; so is Barnaby Braddle the constable, and his group of satellites, but neither can we avert to them, having exhausted our space with the tragic, which after all may not be the most popular part of an exceedingly attractive and entertaining work.

New Monthly Magazine for June.

The adventure of the novel is as stirring as the lover's story is touching. It follows Raleigh's expedition, leads us through the perils of South American enterprise; and exhibiting in strong colors the intrepidity, ardor, and enthusiasm of those gallant navigators, carries the mind along with it in perpetual excitement.

Athenæum, May 26.

The author has not exclusively confined himself to the Globe or the Fortune of the Mermaid Tavern, neither solely to the tapestried chambers where Elizabeth dragooned her ministers, and disgraced such of her maids of honor as forsook her fashion of celibacy—or played upon the virginals to shun melancholy—or received the gross flatteries of her subjects, with "indeed it be exceedingly delicately writ." The author of "Shakspeare and his Friends" has seen that the "golden age" of England was the day also of the discoverers—the day when a thirst for glory and a spirit of adventure received additional strength—as it were an almost poetical direction and intensity—from human ignorance and credulity, when Peru and Potosi, and the Indian seas, tempted abroad some of the most gallant hearts of England, alike restless to signalise themselves, and to behold the wonders and the treasures whereof such marvels were current. And hence, in tracing out the fortunes of Master Francis, the hero of the tale, we are wisely taken to sea with the gallant Raleigh. While on our travels, we encounter the confiding Indians, and the subtle Catholic priest, and the gallant Spaniard of the New World—all taking part with great life and spirit in many wondrous adventures; in which also figures the heroine of the tale, the mercer's daughter of Eastcheap, who, frail though she was, deserved a better fate than she found. It is no slight praise to say that all the wilder portions of the book remind us somewhat of De Foe's narrations. They remind us, moreover, and far more vividly, of the best parts of "Sir Ralph Esher," without, however, being tinctured with the fopperies and feebleness which spoiled that very clever book.

MR. SIMMS'S NEW NOVEL:

THE DAMSEL OF DARIEN.

A Novel, by the author of "The Yemassee," "Guy Rivers," "Mellichampe," &c. &c., in 2 vols. 12mo.

"The scene is laid in the islands of the Western Indies, the time is shortly after the discovery of the New World by Columbus; the characters are of course Spanish and natives; the hero is Vasco Nunez, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, and the heroine is an Indian girl of surpassing beauty—the Damsel of Darien. Her fondness, fidelity and constancy, are beautifully depicted, and to us constitute the most charming and attractive feature in these volumes. The author, indeed, excels in his portraiture of the female character.

"Mr. S. has given us a numerous group of figures, each clearly drawn and vigorously sketched, leaving on the memory of the reader such impressions as in former days grew from the limning of Walter Scott, of which there is now so little. We have no intention of forestalling the appetite by a synopsis of the book, but advise its purchase and perusal. We do this not only for the beauty of the composition, but also on account of its historical value. We greatly err if much more is not learned of the early discovery of South America from this book, than from fifty histories. Those will read this, that will never look into them. For this reason, Mr. S. merits high praise for his fidelity: he has filled up gaps from his fancy, but he has left *facts* as they are, and from his labors some idea may be gained of Spanish endurance, cruelty, valor and avarice. We have often thought that retributive justice is now bringing home to Old Spain some small portion of the misery she once inflicted on the wretched natives of New Spain."

Saturday Courier.

"Our author's descriptive powers are of the very first order, and in his sketches of character there is no writer that better understands the art of bringing out the salient features in high relief, and of impressing an *individuality* upon the portraiture that fixes the image perfectly in our mind, until it haunts us like the figure of one we have intimately known. In this novel, the Damsel of Darien, Mr. Simms has opened a new and virgin mine in the treasures of Romance. An unploughed field, which only needs cultivation to produce the richest fruits.

"There are two beautiful characters in this work, which we cannot close this brief notice without referring to. One is the wife of Caonabo, the Indian Chief, and the other the Indian damsel Careta, the wife of Vasco Nunez. There never were more perfect pictures drawn of true-hearted love, womanly devotion, and pure, meek fidelity, in the whole range of romance. The haughty Spanish beauty, Tersa Davilia, is a common place character, and scarce deserving of notice."—*Evening Gazette and Galaxy.*

"Mr. Simms wields a pen of no ordinary power. He is one of the most affluent writers of the day. His imagery is lavish and beautiful, and his style bold, expressive and diffuse. His colors are laid on with so liberal a hand, that fine effects are often produced where none were premeditated. There are some splendid scenes in this highly wrought romance. The dramatic interest of the story is skilfully excited, and the characters are sketched with much spirit and ability. This will be one of the most popular of the author's works.—*New York Mirror.*

This is throughout a story of the new world, and will be taken up with interest by every one who is willing to believe that an American book may be a good one—by every one who is untrammelled by a slavish predilection for foreign literature and foreign exactions. It is, as the author says, "a story of the perils and privations of early discovery; of its bold adventures, wond[illegible]iumphs, and inadequate rewards."—*American Traveller.*